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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

*Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der  
Reformation.*

BY

LEOPOLD RANKE.  
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TRANSLATED BY SARAH AUSTIN.

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VOL. III.

LONDON:  
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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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IN the Preface to the first volume of this work, I said that, according to the view of the Author, it might be divided into three epochs: the first comprehended in the first two volumes; the next, in the third; and the last, in the two concluding volumes.

The second of these historical divisions I now, after a considerable and unwilling delay, offer to the English reader.

If, in the volumes already translated, he watched the early struggles, the partial and doubtful triumphs of the church founded by Luther, he will here accompany it, through the various stages of growing strength, to maturity. At the close of this volume, we leave it in possession of all the attributes of a regularly constituted Church; we leave it protected by the civil power, and yielding in return cordial obedience and firm support.

We leave it also (such is the infirmity, and such the presumption of man) already laying claim to the possession of absolute truth; already forging instruments for restraining the inquiry it had so ardently promoted and so largely used; and for establishing an authority akin to that which it had risen to overthrow.

In their ardour to overthrow the authority of the ancient church, the Reformers had not measured the aberrations of which undisciplined minds, suddenly freed from habitual restraint, are capable: and now, alarmed at the frightful and apparently boundless extent of the moral disorder, they felt the necessity of fixing certain limits beyond which the extravagance of man should not pass.

But if they had not calculated the amount of evil they had let loose on the world, neither had they understood all the value and potency of the great conservative and corrective principle to which they were the first to give a general and systematic application. It is in the promptitude, the energy, the inflexible perseverance, with which Luther seized and pursued the idea of the connexion between the Church and the School (i. e. the joint and inseparable culture of the religious affections and the intellectual faculties), and of the duty incumbent on a Christian State to provide with equal care for both, that we recognize the pre-eminent genius of the first German Reformer. This idea



was adopted by most of his successors; but none of them—nor, indeed, even the great author of it himself—was as yet sufficiently secure of its results, to dare to intrust religion to the guardianship of enlightened reason, or the order of the world to the slow but sure operation of moral discipline.

The experience of three centuries has shown that religion and morality have, at best, a precarious hold on minds too gross to understand their foundations or their value; that all modes of governing men which take no account of their reason are inefficacious or depraving, and, in either case, fraught with danger; and thus the political expediency (as well as the Christian duty) of educating the people, which the dauntless innovator was the first to proclaim, has come to be admitted, even by the selfish and the timorous. Nor is the recognition of this great necessity confined to the countries which adopted his ecclesiastical reforms. In many of those where the catholic church retains her authority, the State has provided (more or less amply) for the instruction of all its subjects.

The origin and course of the Reformation in England sufficiently explain the absence of any such presiding thought among its authors and leaders. Exactly three hundred years have passed since Luther's death (1546): are we too sanguine in believing the time to be at hand, when, in a

country calling herself the champion of protestantism, some attempt may be made to act up to that sublime conception of the duties of a Reformed Church and a Protestant State, which he bequeathed to the world ?

S. A.

*December, 1846.*

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BOOK V.

FORMATION OF A CATHOLIC MAJORITY.

1527—1530.





# HISTORY

OF THE

## REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

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### BOOK V.

#### RETROSPECT.

IN the introduction to this history we endeavoured to lay before our readers a view of the earlier fortunes of the German nation, especially in reference to the struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers. We observed how the papacy not only was victorious in this struggle, but raised itself to the condition of a substantial power in the Germanic empire, — a power indeed of the first order. We saw, however, that, just as it had placed itself on a footing of amity, and concluded an alliance with the vanquished imperial power, the empire became ungovernable, fell into confusion and anarchy at home, and from year to year lost its consideration abroad; till at length the spirit of the nation, condemned to inactivity, expressed itself only in a general conviction that such a state of things was untenable and fatal.

In our first book we traced the earnest efforts made by the nation in the latter part of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, to remedy the evils under which it suffered. Its first endeavours were directed towards temporal abuses. The project was conceived of creating a power in the empire, resting at once on the privileges of the emperor and those of the States, but more especially founded on the co-operation of the latter in the government; not with a view of effecting a centralisation in the sense of modern times, but only as a means of satisfying the most pressing wants,—the establishment of peace and law, and the defence of the country against its neighbours. But the end was not attained. Certain constitutional forms, which were of more value and importance to later times than to those which gave them birth, were indeed established; but we have seen how small was their practical efficacy. The consequence rather was, that the abortive attempt to introduce such radical changes threw the nation into universal confusion. As men felt only the restraints which pressed upon themselves, but were ignorant of the benefits of public order, the old spirit of insubordination and private vengeance revived; with the difference, however, that it was now mingled with a lively feeling for the common weal, and animated by a disgust at the reigning abuses, bordering on rage.

Such was the temper of the nation, when (as we observed in our second book), after the failure of its attempts to reform its secular affairs, it seized on the affairs of the Church, and on the functions

of the papacy, which possessed so large a portion of political power in the empire. Here, however, this disposition of the national mind became blended with still more extensive movements of public opinion. Though the papacy was still intent upon a more rigorous and minute development of its dogmas and its rites, and a more strenuous assertion of them, tendencies of a scientific kind which were opposed to the reigning system of the schools, and longings of the religious spirit which found no satisfaction in the ritual observance of the prescribed ordinances, were at work within its own bosom. The wonderful coincidence was, that just as abuses had risen to the most intolerable height, the study of the sacred books in their original tongues once more revealed to the world, in all its radiance, that pure Idea of Christianity which had so long been darkened or disguised. A man appeared who, in that secret travail and contention of mind to which the remedies usually applied by the church afforded no relief, seized with his whole soul on an aspect of Christianity hitherto the most profoundly obscured; and such was his own experience of its truth, fulness, and saving power, that he would never more suffer it to be wrested from him, but maintained it unshaken through life and death. In the contest to which it gave rise, he drew around him all the other elements of innovation, with a consistency and sagacity which at length gained over the whole nation, and secured to himself a degree of sympathy such as no other man ever enjoyed. At the same time that he

gave a new direction to religious thoughts and feelings, he opened a new prospect of national regeneration. Men already felt that the papacy was not to be held in check by constitutional forms; and that if they would free themselves from its usurpations, they must contest the spiritual grounds on which those usurpations rested.

The young emperor, who was elected in the midst of these troubles, remained faithful to the old system; but as he left Germany after a short residence, and the representative government which had formerly been projected, was now in actual operation, his conduct was of far less importance than that of the States. In the third book we saw how the Council of Regency, after brief hesitation, declared itself decidedly for Luther. Even the proposal made in the assembly of the States, to compel the preachers at least to adhere to the four oldest canonical teachers of the Latin Church, was overruled by the regency; so far were people from considering a strict adherence to doctrines which had been added in later ages as indispensable. The views of this government were indeed on all points of the most enlarged kind. Its plan for the imposition of a general tax of the empire, instead of those taxes on the several states which it was often impossible to collect, would doubtless have given it a firmness and vigour hitherto unknown. Had this succeeded, it would have taken the administration of all the affairs of the country, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, vigorously in hand. It is hardly possible to estimate the consequences which must have resulted

from a national council (such as was already appointed) acting under its guidance. But Germany had been too long a stranger to order. Neither the knights, nor the princes, nor even the States, would suffer a regularly constituted power, which they would have been forced to obey, to rise into existence. In defiance of the decrees of the diets of the empire, some princes formed the strictest alliance with the pope; the emperor sent from Spain to forbid the assembling of the national council; the whole government was broken up. The peasants' war was a symptom of the universal dissolution which followed. Nor was this subdued by the constituted authorities of the empire, but by the several associations of princes and states exposed to attack. Measures for the constitution of a national church, such as had been contemplated by the council of regency, were no longer to be thought of. The several states were compelled to provide for their own wants.

This the emperor was in no present condition to oppose; on the contrary, he himself needed the support of the new tendencies of the public mind.

The attempt to re-establish the rights of the empire in Italy, which he had at first undertaken in concurrence with the papacy, gradually entangled him, as we have shown in our fourth book, in the most violent disputes with that power. With the insignificant means at his disposal, he would never have been able to make any successful resistance to Rome, had not the popular exasperation against the papacy, which increased from year to year,

come to his aid. But in order to turn this feeling to account he was obliged to make concessions to it. A solemn decree of the diet was passed, whereby an almost absolute religious independence was granted to the princes and states within their several dominions. This insured perfect concord and union throughout the empire. While a German army marched into Italy, conquered Rome, and made the Pope himself a prisoner, a great number of the territories of princes and cities on this side the Alps adopted and put in practice the principles of Luther; they emancipated themselves for ever from the yoke of Rome, and established an ecclesiastical organisation of their own.

The fence of those hierarchies which had surrounded the world being thus broken down, the more vigorous and highly civilised among them sought to reconstitute themselves on a new system; the leading principle of which was, to draw religious convictions from the purest and most primitive sources, and to free civil life from the contracting, oppressive influence of a spiritual institution, which assumed the monopoly of piety — an undertaking of the greatest importance and the highest promise to the progress of the human race.

The empire, which from the earliest ages had developed itself under the influence of the See of Rome, was thus invaded by a new element hostile to the ancient hierarchical order of things: this, if sufficiently powerful to sustain itself, promised to change the whole face and destinies of the German nation.

Changes so radical and extensive are not, however, to be carried into effect without the most violent struggles; nor is this the result of human will or caprice, but inherent in the nature of human affairs.

If, in the case before us, we consider the characters of the men who attached themselves to the great religious innovation, we shall see how impossible it was for them to avoid varieties of opinion, and divergences of views. Nor was it to be expected that the energetic princes who carried that innovation into effect, should remain perfectly exempt from the excesses and acts of violence which, in their age, had become a second nature.

But far greater dangers presented themselves on the side from which they had seceded.

It would have been absurd to expect that the spirit of absolute domination which had inspired the Church of Rome from her very infancy, and had gradually led her to claim a supreme authority over the world, would allow her to submit to losses so dangerous to her power and interests, without straining every nerve to bring back the seceders.

The German people would doubtless have desired that the emperor should retain the power he had acquired in Italy, and, in return, should allow them to carry into effect those ideas of a Church which they confidently believed to be in conformity with the will and the commands of God. But to this end it would have been



necessary that the emperor should himself feel a lively sympathy in those ideas — a sympathy elevated far above the calculations of policy. Were this not the case (and at that time there seemed no trace of any probability of it), his own power stood in far too close and manifold relations to the papacy, for him long to continue at war with Rome.

As, moreover, the attempt to establish a government which might carry through the opposition to Rome and then afford protection to the spiritual Estates, had not succeeded, it followed that the latter, who had reaped nothing from the reformation but loss of revenue and consideration, and who had reason to dread still greater,—if not total ruin, — put themselves in an attitude of defence.

Thus therefore it inevitably followed, that the emperor and the empire once more embraced the cause of the hierarchy; and that the commencement of the fiercest and most perilous struggles dated from this moment.

As yet there was no question of a wider dissemination of the new opinions; it was first to be seen whether the newly organised evangelical church would not share the fate of all the other religious institutions which had attempted to sustain themselves apart from Rome, but had either utterly disappeared, or sunk into insignificance.

We have watched the founding of the edifice; it now remains for us to see whether it will have sufficient strength and solidity to stand erect and unsupported.

We shall begin with a view of the foreign relations of the empire, by which the general position of the emperor was determined, and which consequently exercised a powerful re-action on the affairs of Germany.

## CHAPTER I.

CHANGES IN THE GENERAL POLITICAL RELATIONS  
OF EUROPE.

1527, 1528.

THE Hispano-German army had conquered Rome; and whatever might be the external deportment of the emperor, there is no doubt that he at first founded the most extensive political projects upon this event.

The instructions with which he sent one of his courtiers, Pierre de Verey, to the Viceroy of Naples, have only lately come to light. In these he confesses that his wish was, either to go himself without delay to Italy, or to cause the Pope to come to Spain, in order that they might settle all differences in person and orally: and that he should prefer the latter plan, if the viceroy could find means to bring the pope safely to Spain; but that he was alarmed by the danger of the pontiff falling into the hands of hostile troops by the way. Under these circumstances he thought it best to re-instate the pope in the papal chair in full freedom. But the conditions are worthy of note. This freedom, said the emperor expressly, was only to be understood as relating to the pope's spiritual functions; and even with regard to these, it would be necessary, before setting him at liberty, to obtain full security against treach-

ery and deceit on his part.\* The emperor stated what were the securities which he should deem satisfactory ; viz. the cession of the cities of Ostia and Civita Vecchia, Parma and Piacenza, Bologna and Ravenna ; and lastly, of Civita Castellana. He demands, as we see, all the important places of the ecclesiastical states, as then constituted. The principle upon which he proceeded was, that even if the pope should ever again entertain the wish to injure him, he must not have the power to do so. These strong places he proposed to keep in his own hands, till the pope should call a council for the reformation of the Church.

These views were to a certain degree in accordance with the ideas of the German nation. The church reform which the emperor required was certainly not that proposed by Luther and his followers ; nor indeed was it at all of a doctrinal

\* Instructions to Pierre de Veray, Baron de St. Vincent, Excerpts in Bucholtz, Ferdinand, iii. 97—104., especially p. 101. “We have considered that in case there be no means for his Holiness to come hither in safety, notwithstanding what has passed, to use so great liberality towards H. H. as to give him back his freedom, and that by the hand of my viceroy, as representative of our person, he be re-instated in his chair at Rome. But *before* he can be restored to this freedom, which is to be understood of spiritual functions, our viceroy must be so well assured by him as to all things which can happen by human means and by secular power, that we be not deceived therein, and that if H. H. should have the will, he may not have the power to do us ill ; that thereby we may not, in return for the kindness we have shown him, continually receive injury and damage, as the experience of the past has shown.” Bucholtz places these instructions three weeks after the 30th June, i. e. 21st July, 1527.

nature: his only object was, to have the administrative abuses removed, as preceding kings and emperors had so often demanded, and Glapio had lately recommended in Worms. It is however obvious that the two projects reciprocally support each other. How vast, moreover, was the prospect of increased temporal power which opened to the emperor, if he could succeed in keeping possession of the States of the Church till the accomplishment of so remote and uncertain an event. Thus Ferdinand had recently seized on the bishopric of Brixen till some accommodation should be come to, and had excited the suspicion that he intended to keep it. Thus too, in this very year, the Bishop of Utrecht, driven out by his warlike neighbour of Guelders, had ceded to the government of the Netherlands all his rights over the temporal administration of his bishopric for an annual sum of money.\* The same fate seemed to await the greatest of all spiritual benefices—the States of the Church. It was thought that the emperor would establish his seat of government in Rome, take the temporalities of the ecclesiastical states into his own hands, and depose, or carry off, the pope. What indeed could men think, when Charles was known to have instigated the Duke of Ferrara to undertake without delay the restoration of the exiled dynasts of the ecclesiastical states—the Sassatelli in Imola, the Bentivogli in Bologna, &c.? The Viceroy of Naples actually proposed to the Spanish colonel Alarcon,

\* The negotiations of Schoonhoven (Oct. 1527) appear from the speech in the assembly of the Dutch States. Wagenaar, ii. 349.

to whom the safe keeping of the pope in the Castel St. Angelo was entrusted, to bring his captive to Gaeta. Alarcon however refused; "not out of ill will," observes the reporter, "but because he had scruples of conscience." "God forbid," said the brave soldier, "that I should lead the body of the Lord captive."\*

It is not always necessary that the schemes of a power should be accurately known in order to excite resistance; the same possibility which, on the one side, suggests the thought of an enterprise, awakens, on the other, the dread of it and the endeavour to counteract it.

Charles V. had, as we may recollect, still most powerful enemies to contend with. The Ligue lay still encamped against him in unbroken force; and just at this moment the King of England, who had for some time shown an inclination that way, made marked advances towards its chiefs. Charles's refusal to allow him any share in the advantages resulting from the victory of Pavia, or to conclude the promised marriage between himself and the Princess Mary (a refusal which touched Henry in a very sensible part, inasmuch as it involved a pecuniary damage—an old debt of the emperor's being reckoned as part of the dowry), seemed to the king a sufficient ground for separating himself from his ancient ally. As early as the 30th April, a treaty was concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I., the motive for which they declare to be the mutual inclination which nature, who had

\* Letter of Verey. Bucholtz, pp. 110. 118.



fashioned them alike in mind and body, had implanted in their hearts, and which had been only heightened by the late interruption of the good understanding between them. They agree therein to demand of the emperor, through their common ambassadors, the liberation of the French princes on fair and honourable terms, and the satisfaction of the pecuniary claims of England; and, in case of his refusal to listen to these demands, to declare war against him without delay.\* It may easily be imagined that their eagerness for war was greatly inflamed by the conquest of Rome. Henry VIII. says, in the full powers for concluding fresh treaties which he gave to Cardinal Wolsey, that the cause of the Holy See was the common cause of all princes; that never had a greater insult been offered to it than now; and that, as this had been caused by no offence or provocation, but solely by unbridled lust of power, such ungovernable ambition must be opposed betimes by combined forces.† His first idea was, that the cardinals still at liberty should assemble in Avignon, where Wolsey should also be present; and that a new central point for the church should thus be created. But as the cardinals did not agree to this, the two monarchs mutually promised on no account to consent to any proclamation of a council, so long as the pope was not free; and jointly

\* *Traité de Westminster*, 30 Avril 1527. Du Mont, iv. 1. 476.

† *Ad tractandum super quocumque fœdere pro resarcienda Romanæ sedis dignitate commissio regis*. Rymer, vi. ii. p. 80.

to oppose every attempt on the part of the emperor to administer the powers of the church.\* Lastly, they settled the old differences between the two kingdoms. Wolsey, who had repaired to Amiens, renounced, in the king's name, all claim to the throne of France. A sum of money was agreed on, as compensation, which was to be paid to King Henry and all his successors, "without ceasing, till all the years which divine Providence has appointed to the human race shall have passed away." At first they intended to direct their principal attack against the Netherlands; they now agreed to turn their arms against Italy. Henry showed a readiness to advance subsidies; he hoped to obtain ample compensation by means of a perpetual tribute which he intended to exact from the duchy of Milan. The proposals made by the emperor at this moment, reasonable as they appeared, were rejected. In August 1527, a new French army appeared in Italy under Lautrec, took Bosco, Alexandria and the strong city of Pavia, on which cruel vengeance was taken for the resistance it had made two years and a half before. In October 1527, Lautrec crossed the Po, intending to wait only for reinforcements, and then immediately to enter the States of the Church.†

\* "—— præsertim cum juris naturalis æquitate pensata non proprie à summo pontifice factum dici possit, quod ad aliorum arbitrium facit captivus, etiamsi verbis diversissimum profiteatur." *Traité d'Amiens*, 18 Août, Dumont, iv. 1. 494.

† Letter from Angerer (5th Nov.), in Hormayr's *Archiv*. 1812, p. 456.: "We allow ourselves to be restrained by words, and the Ligue follows up its victory. I have really no hope or

It would have been extremely disagreeable to the emperor, if the pope, still unreconciled to him, had been liberated from the castle by this army; an event which appeared by no means impossible, since the German troops, in consequence of their disorder, and of the diseases caused by an Italian summer, had sustained great losses, and were constantly discontented. But this would have been rendered peculiarly vexatious and inconvenient to him by a project which King Henry had conceived, and now followed up with the most impetuous ardour.

King Henry VIII. was married to Catharine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt of the emperor. This marriage could not have been contracted without a dispensation from the pope, which Julius II. had granted, "in virtue of his apostolical authority; that supreme delegated power which he used as time and circumstances might require." \* But in the nation, nay, even in the persons immediately surrounding the king, the scruples on this head had never entirely disappeared. The death of every son that Catharine brought him, one after another, produced a deep impression on people's minds, and seemed a fulfilment of the words in the 3d Book of Moses†, denouncing child-

heart left." A letter of Leiva's of the 23d Oct. shows, however, that he had not lost heart.

\* Brief in Burnet's Collection, p. 9. It is said there, "*Cum matrimonium contraxissetis illudque carnali copula forsan consummavissetis.*" It is clear that the dispensation assumed this to be the case.

† Leviticus, xx. 21., quoted by John the Baptist to Herod: St. Mark, vi. 18.

lessness against the man who shall take his brother's wife. Even Thomas Aquinas had doubted whether the pope could release men from the obligatory force of a law of the holy Scripture; and we may imagine how greatly the ideas of the reformers, originating in similar questions as to the authority of Scripture, and now become current even in England, must have tended to strengthen this doubt. The king's confessor had for a long time declared to his friends that his highness's marriage would not last.\*

In this state of things it happened that Cardinal Wolsey, the king's confidant, quarrelled with the emperor. The emperor, when at Windsor, had promised to raise him to the papal dignity; but when the occasion offered, he did little or nothing in his behalf. It was constantly affirmed in Spain that Wolsey swore eternal vengeance against the emperor for this breach of faith; that he boasted he would bring about such a revolution in affairs as had not taken place for a century; — even though the kingdom of England should perish in the convulsion.† Various other causes now contributed, as we have seen, to create enmity between his royal master and the emperor. In order, however, to render this permanent, it was

\* Polydorus Virgilius, *Historia Anglica*, Henricus VIII., p. 82. Jam pridem conjugium regium velut infirmum labefactum iri censebat idque clam suis sæpe intimis amicis insurabat.

† Respuesta del emperador al cartel presentado por Clarençao. Sandoval, lib. xvi. tom. i. p. 358.

absolutely necessary that the marriage by which Ferdinand the Catholic and Henry VII. had thought to render the union of their families eternal, should be dissolved. We may believe Wolsey's assertion on his trial, — that it was not he who first suggested the divorce; but it is no less certain that he first seriously proposed it, and with the view above mentioned: he himself affirmed this most distinctly to the French ambassador, Jean du Bellay.\*

Meanwhile, the passion which the king conceived for Anna Boleyn, one of the ladies of the queen's court, though it subserved Wolsey's views, did not form part of his plans. He wished to substitute the French alliance for the Spanish. When he was in Amiens he said to the queen-mother, that if she lived only another year, she would witness the eternal union of England with the one side (the French), and a no less complete separation from the other. He let fall other mysterious expressions,

\* *Depêche de l'évêque de Bayonne, J. du Bellay, 28th October, 1528.* Wolsey complains of certain measures of the French, from which had ensued "totale alienation de N<sup>re</sup> dit St. Père avec rompture dudit mariage (the negotiations concerning the affair of the marriage). La quelle rompture, encore que la perte de N<sup>re</sup> dit St. Père ne soit pour rien comptée, est de telle importance, ce dit mon dit Seigneur Legat (Wolsey), que tout homme en pourra juger qui *saura que les premiers termes du divorce ont été mis par luy en avant, afin de mettre perpetuelle separation entre les maisons d'Angleterre et de Bourgogne.*" Already printed in *Le Grand's Histoire du Divorce*, iii. p. 185. I have recently looked through the manuscript (*Depesches de Messire J. du Bellay. Colbert, v. 468., King's Library, at Paris*), which Le Grand used, and have found many new and important circumstances in it.

begging her to remember his words, and adding that he would remind her of them at the proper time.

Such being the state of his mind, the differences of the pope with the emperor were entirely in accordance with his wishes; and he therefore urged on the new alliance, and the enterprise against Italy.

We may imagine, however, the effect that schemes and proceedings of this kind naturally produced on the emperor. And here an observation suggests itself, which sounds paradoxical, but, if we mistake not, contains a striking truth.

It is a well-known fact, and one to which we shall often have occasion to recur, that this divorce proved fatal to the influence of the papacy in England. But if we ascend to that higher point of view which commands the general relations of Europe, we shall see that the schemes of Henry VIII. were, at this critical moment, productive of advantage to the papal power. The emperor, whose conduct had been not only imperious but violent towards the pope, now perceived that the head of the church, even in a prison, was a person of importance, and was still able to make him painfully sensible of his power.

The emperor first heard of the project of divorce at the end of July 1527. In the instructions of the 21st of that month, drawn up for Verey, no trace of it is (if we may trust our extracts) to be found; but on the 31st of the same month we have a letter of



the emperor's in which it is expressly mentioned. In this he commissions the viceroy to speak of the matter to the pope, but with discretion, lest he should avail himself of it "as means to a mischievous understanding with the king." Charles wished that the pope had instantly crushed the scheme by two or three briefs to the king and the cardinal, containing a peremptory refusal.\*

It is obvious that a vast weight was thrown into the pope's scale by the need the emperor had of his aid in a domestic affair of such importance.

To this was added the unfavourable impression produced in Spain by the captivity of the sovereign pontiff. The grandees of that kingdom, both temporal and spiritual, who were at the court, took an occasion to speak to the emperor about it, and to remind him of the devoted attachment of the Spanish nation to the see of Rome. The nuncio was even emboldened to entertain the project of suspending the ecclesiastical functions throughout Spain; the prelates were to appear before the emperor in mourning garments, and to demand from him the liberty of Christ's vicergerent on earth. Nothing less than the direct interference of the court was required to prevent his issuing a proclamation of this violent character.†

Under these circumstances the imperial council of state found it impossible to adhere absolutely to its first instructions. Gattinara declared that they could not keep the pope a prisoner, so long as they

\* Excerpt from this letter. Bucholtz, iii. 94. note.

† Castiglione, 10th Dec. 1527; Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 14.

continued to recognise him as the true pope. De Praet remarked, that the troops now quartered in Rome were wanted for the defence of the kingdom of Naples, and that they could not march till the pope was set at liberty ; he advised that the orders issued for the execution of the instructions should be qualified by the very pregnant words, "as far as practicable." The council of state hereupon came to the decision that the pope must, at all events, be set at liberty.\*

Negotiations were then set on foot with Clement VII., through Degli Angeli, general of the Franciscans. We unfortunately possess no details of their progress. On the twenty-sixth of November, 1527, a treaty was concluded, in virtue of which the pope was restored, not only to his spiritual functions but to his temporal power. The emperor contented himself with the cession of a few strong places, such as Ostia, Civita Vecchia and Civita Castellana. The pope promised to convoke a council for the union and reformation of the church, and to contribute, as far as lay in his power, to satisfy the soldiery.† Their pay was to be raised chiefly by a large sale of church lands in the Neapolitan territory.

Another point, which is not mentioned in the treaty, was, as it appears, also a subject of negotiation. The pope is said to have promised the

\* Notice in Bucholtz, iii. p. 119.

† Contract between Pope Clement and Charles V.; Reissner, p. 155. The words of the preamble are, however, rather a form of expression than an historical truth.

emperor that he would not consent to the divorce of the king of England.

Clement VII. was once more free. He garrisoned the castle of St. Angelo with his own troops, caused all the bells in the city to be rung, and nominated anew all the officers of the camera and of the city. The vast schemes of limiting the pope to his spiritual functions, of carrying him off to a distant fortress, and the like, were so far from being realised, that the emperor's own power in Italy was now once more in danger.

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At first the pope was far from trusting the emperor or his ministers, or from believing that the peace between them would be of long endurance. It was agreed that he should go to Orvieto. But he was still fearful that Hugo Moncada, who had succeeded Lautrec as viceroy of Naples, would seize upon his person on the way, and carry him off to some fortress in the imperial territory.\* He determined to escape in disguise through the gates of the garden of the Vatican, on the night before the day appointed for his journey. In this way he reached Orvieto, on the 10th of December 1527.

For a moment he felt as if he were once more master of his own destiny; but he no sooner raised his eyes, than he found himself surrounded by dangers on every hand.

On the one side, he saw his country in great measure in the hands of the conqueror by whom

\* Jovius, *Vita Pompeji Columnæ*, 197. f. Guicciardini, lib. xviii. p. 469.

he had been so injuriously treated. In the course of the winter his capital had been reduced to utter ruin by the imperial troops, to which arrears of pay were still due.

On the other side, the friends who had affected to protect him inspired him only with hatred, distrust and alarm. Florence, which had again expelled the house of Medici, and attempted to found a republic on the plan of Savonarola, found support from France. The Venetians had taken possession of the cities of Ravenna and Cervia, which Julius II. deemed it so great a glory to have reconquered.

Clement feared both parties. That the emperor should possess at once Milan and Naples, seemed to him extremely dangerous\*; in that case Charles would indeed be "lord of all things;" the favour which he himself had shown to the emperor's foes would bring his head upon the block. But the measures of the Ligue caused him, if possible, more anxiety and distress. When the French invited him to sanction and to join the Ligue, as it was then constituted, he replied, that it was a strange proposal to make to him, to sanction and concur in the mea-

\* *Literæ Gregorii de Cassellis*, in Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 467. "Et cum ei persuasissem, ut nihil dubitaret, et quod totum se rejiceret in manus regiæ majestatis et rev. D. Legati, dixit se ita velle facere et quod in eorum brachia se et omnia sua remittat. Et caput jam ponit sub supplicio, nisi a regia Majestate adjuvetur. Si Cæsar permittatur aliquid possidere in Italia præterquam in regno Neapolitano, omnium rerum semper erit dominus, nisi mature confundatur." It is evident he was still of opinion that it was necessary to the security of the see of Rome that Milan should be wrested from the emperor.

sures taken against himself:—in Florence his family had been ruined; Ferrara was constantly engaged in hostilities against him; yet with these powers he was asked to ally himself.

The French told him they were determined to wrest not only Milan but Naples also from the emperor; and they wished to know whether the pope would at least openly declare himself for them, when they had made their way to Naples, and driven out the Spaniard. Clement evaded giving a positive answer; he found it difficult to believe that they would, as they asserted, allow him to dispose of Naples at his pleasure; judging from his countenance, people concluded that his intention was to gain time to consider, and then to make such terms as circumstances would allow.\*

Every thing, however, depended on the issue of the enterprise of France, and on the fortune of arms.

In January 1528, Lautrec entered the kingdom of Naples. The German army, which had at length with infinite difficulty been led out of Rome by the Prince of Orange, threw itself in his way at Troja, and offered to give him battle. But Lautrec expected succours from Venice, and was satisfied to let the imperialists feel the superiority of his artillery. This conduct had such an effect, that an inclination in favour of France manifested itself throughout the empire. When the expected reinforcements arrived, the imperial troops, which had

\* Nic. Raince au Gr. Maitre, 28th Jan. 1528. MS. Bethune, 8534.

no artillery, found it necessary to abandon the field and retreat upon Naples, the defence of which was of the highest importance\*; the head, they said, did not follow the members, but the members the head. Lautrec hastened to pursue them: towards the end of April he encamped on either side of the high road from Capua, and opened the siege of Naples. It appeared almost impossible that this populous city, less able than any other to endure scarcity of food, could long hold out against a conquering army. In England the fall of Naples was already reckoned upon as the termination of the whole affair; for the provinces of the kingdom were already in great measure in the hands of the allies. The Venetians took possession of the ports of Apulia, while Filippino Doria defeated the imperialists in the harbour of Amalfi. Some people began to conceive a hope of a universal overthrow of the imperial power. Wolsey was heard to declare that the pope must be enabled at once to depose the emperor, on account of the grievous outrages he had experienced from him; he had only to proclaim that the electoral princes possessed the right of proceeding to a new election, and to admonish them to choose one of their own body. This would not only have the effect of conciliating them, but would create such a breach

\* Ziegler, *Acta Paparum*, book xii. "As the imperialists had neither ammunition nor provisions, and nothing could be conveyed to them in safety,—for all places were better inclined to the French than to the imperialists . . . ."



between the emperor and the pope that any future reconciliation would be impossible.\* A communication to this effect was in fact made to the pope. He deemed it necessary that both kings should agree upon the candidate for the imperial crown, lest a similar confusion to that at the last election (of Charles V.) should occur. He thought he could reckon upon four electoral princes.†

But here, too, the emperor's lucky star did not forsake him.

In the first place, he succeeded in gaining over one of the most powerful chiefs of Italy, Andrea Doria, of Genoa. He had long been negotiating with him; first before Doria entered into the service of the Ligue, and afterwards during the visit of the arch-chancellor Gattinara to Upper Italy, in May 1527: an Augustinian hermit, in concert with a servant of Doria's named Erasmo, were, on both occasions, the secret mediators.‡ It is not surprising if, under these circumstances, the king of France missed in Doria the cordiality and zeal which he expected from him. Doria, on his side, made many complaints of personal offences,

\* Bellay au Grandmaitre, 2d Jan. 1528. (MS. Colbert, Vc.)

† Gardiner and Cassalis to C. Wolsey. April 28. Strype, Eccles. Mem. v. 427. "It were," says the pope, "to be foreseen before sentence of privation, who were most meet to be chosen."

‡ The details which we find concerning this in Hormayr's Archiv. 1810, p. 61., and in Bucholz, are doubtless taken from the same documents in the Vienna archives. Doria's engagements to Francis were to cease 1st July, 1528, and then those to the emperor to begin. See also Folietta, Historia Genuensis, p. 309. Sigonius de rebus gestis Andreae Aureæ. Opp. Sigonii, i. 241.

as well as of the treatment experienced by his native city, whose ancient rights over Savona were now disputed. In England, where many Genoese then lived, and all these circumstances were known with the greatest accuracy, they created the most violent irritation. Wolsey said the French ought to give Doria all the money and all the honours he might choose to demand; and rather cede Savona seven times over than estrange this man at the moment when they most needed him. But France did not keep one line of policy so rigorously and steadily in view, as to weigh all the consequences of his loss. On the other hand, the emperor subscribed to all the terms proposed by Doria; he rendered the destiny of Genoa, as well as the person and fortunes of Doria, perfectly secure, and he voluntarily added certain marks of favour; for example, a considerable grant of land in the Neapolitan territory. He knew well what he was doing. In a very short time Andrea Doria hoisted on the emperor's ships the very flags which Filippino had taken from the imperialists in the battle of Amalfi.\* His desertion alone sufficed to establish

\* Letter to Salviati, L. d. Principi, ii. 129. In a MSS. biography of Guasto, in the Chigi library at Rome, there is a chapter on the *Cambiamento di A. Doria*, which certainly sounds rather romantic. Doria's prisoners hear him complaining of king Francis in his sleep: "non basta al rè Francesco, avermi tolti i ricatti guadagnati col rischio del mio sangue, ma vuol Genova sottoporre a Savona — ma io cambiarò la bandiera, sarò signore del mare, farò libera non che soggetta la patria mia." The motives, however, are clear enough. According to this story, Guasto urged them in his conversation with

the emperor's superiority in the Mediterranean. But besides this, it was an important advantage, that a city which formed the link of direct communication between Spain and Milan, once more declared for the emperor.

At this moment, too, the fate of Naples was decided.

Contagious diseases, such as always follow in the train of devastating war, broke out in the French armies before Naples, and spread with dreadful rapidity. "God sent amongst them," says a German report, "such a pestilence that out of 25,000 not above 4000 survived."\* Lautrec himself was one of its victims; Vaudemont, to whom the crown had been destined, died before the gates which he had hoped to enter in triumph as king. To these disasters were added the fortunate turn of things among the besieged. The German imperialists, as at Pavia, directed their attacks in the first place against their countrymen in the service of France, under the Count of Lupfen, and brought back their colours as a trophy into the city: at length the rest of the French army found

Doria, adducing the examples of La Palice and Giangiacopo Trivulzio, who had also been very ungratefully treated by Francis. These arguments brought him over.

\* Ziegler: "es starb ser under ihnen, Gott schiket under des Frantzosen hauffen ain solche pestilenz, das si innerhalb 30 Tagen schir all starben und von 25,000 uber 4,000 nit beliben." "There died many among them. God sent among the troops such a pestilence, that within thirty days they sheer all died, and out of 25,000 not 4,000 remained;" a statement which Reissner has altered, after his manner, p. 173.

itself compelled to prepare for a retreat, when at that moment it was attacked and totally cut off. This occurred on the 29th August 1528.\*

The imperialists, whose condition had so lately appeared hopeless, remained completely victors, and once more took possession of the kingdom.

Fortunate was it for the pope that he had remained neutral. "But for this," writes his secretary of state, Sanga, now his prime minister†, "we should now be in the lowest abyss of ruin." It was in a conference between Clement and Sanga on the 6th of September, that some advances to the emperor were seriously resolved on.

The imperial party had already frequently requested the pope to return to Rome, where they promised to defend him from every danger.‡ He now determined upon this step. On the 6th of October we find him again in Rome.

He was not, however, on that account to be regarded as in any degree an ally of the emperor. Even in November 1528, he encouraged Francis I. to keep alive the agitation in Germany, by which Charles's dignity as emperor was endangered, and to support the Woiwode of Transylvania.§ In

\* Sepulveda, who was then in Gaeta, viii. 34. f.

† Al Cl. Campeggio, *Lettere di principi*, ii. 127. "Se sua Santità non faceva così, hora si sarebbe nel profondo della total ruina."

‡ Lettera di Roma a B. Castiglione. L. d. pr. ii. 10.

§ Gio Joachim a Montmorency Roma, 7th Nov. 1528. Moli-  
ni, ii. 122. "Mi disse S. Santità, che l'imperatore fosse quasi costretto, in persona trovarsi ben tosto in Alamagna, per dar ordine a molte cose,—le quali non ordinate—producevano gran

December 1528, the French ambassador declares that, whatever may appear to the contrary, the pope is as much inclined to the French as ever; that at the bottom of his heart he was much displeased that their attack on Naples had succeeded so ill; had they followed his advice, he said, matters would not have ended so. "I venture to affirm," adds the ambassador, "that here is no feint."\* It is at least certain that one of his intimates, Cardinal Campeggi, who was gone to England to conduct the proceedings on the king's divorce, said publicly, in the plainest terms, that the emperor was full of ill-will, and would do them as much mischief as he possibly could; that to attack him in good earnest was the true way to bring him to his senses; the desirable thing would be to do him some damage in Spain, but as that was not practicable, an expedition against him in Germany was by all means to be undertaken, let it be conducted as it might.†

No one, therefore, could have ventured to predict a speedy peace. In the year 1528 a formal challenge was sent by the emperor to the king, and

pregiudizio e non minor movimento, minacciavano a l'imperatore sua stato, titolo e dignità (he points, no doubt, at the designs of the House of Bavaria, to obtain the dignity of king of Rome.) Se mo le cose in Germania fussero nel stato che si dice, a S. Sà parrebbe chel chr<sup>mo</sup> re per ben degli suoi affari *le mantenesse, augumentasse e fomentasse.*"

\* Rance, 14th Dec. 1528, "qu'il n'y a fiction aucune."

† Bellay, 1 Jan. 1529, "louant fort l'enterprise d'Allemagne, par quel moyen qu'elle se puisse conduire."

it was from no backwardness on the part of the former that a single combat did not take place.\*

In Upper Italy the fortune of war was still vacillating, inclining rather to the side of the king than to that of the emperor. The same diseases which had destroyed the French army before Naples, attacked the German troops which, in the summer of 1528, had crossed the Alps under Henry of Brunswick and Marx Sittich of Ems, in aid of the emperor, and were now encamped in Lombardy. Independently of this, Duke Henry was not the man to carry through an undertaking in which he had to contend at once with the jealousy of his allies, the aversion of the country people, the fatal effects of the climate, and the attacks of the enemy. He soon retreated in disgust across the Alps; his troops dispersed, and part of them entered the service of Venice.

Thereupon a fresh French army made its appearance in Ivrea under St. Pol; the Venetians sent money and troops to meet it, and the allies not only reconquered Pavia, which they had a second time lost, but immediately began to indulge the highest hopes. St. Pol was of opinion that they

\* *Relacion da Borgoña*, Sandoval, 888. He had a solemn audience of the king, who said to him, "Dost thou bring me the place of battle?" The herald answered, "Sire, the Emperor's sacred majesty——" The king broke in upon him, "I bid thee that thou speak to me of nothing, till thou hast brought me assurance of the place of battle." The herald could not fully deliver his message; but at last it came to pass as Wolsey thought. "I trust to God these young courageous passions shall be finally converted into fume." 21st July, St. P. p. 320.

ought instantly to press on to the Neapolitan territory, where a number of strong places were still in possession of the French; he doubted not that the whole kingdom would then fall into his hands. The French government, on the other hand, thought it more urgent first to make an attack on Genoa and Andrea Doria. Although this did not succeed, the army became master of the greater part of Lombardy, and in England hopes were still entertained that it would soon take Milan, and even, by investing Parma and Piacenza, regain its influence over the pope.

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Nor was eastern Europe in a state of less confusion. So long as Ferdinand himself was present in Hungary, order was in some measure maintained, but as soon as he absented himself, the old divisions broke out again. Even his own adherents could not agree. The Bishop of Erlau complained of Andrew Bathory, who had insulted and wounded him; "no Socrates," he declared, "had had need of more patience than he." Francis Batthyany could not make his way to the castles of which Louis Pekry had taken possession in his name. A universal cry was raised against the violences of the German army under Katzianer, which levied its supplies directly upon the country, and advanced at a very slow rate against the Joannists. Katzianer sent an energetic and rough answer.\* The assertion,

\* Correspondence in Bucholtz, iii. 269—279. In Ursinus Velius de Bello Pannonico, p. 91., we see that the grandees of Hungary quarrelled, "de bonis hostis Joannis jam olim inter se partitis."



even if untrue, that bread mixed with chalk was given to the Germans to poison them, proves the strong national antipathy that had arisen. This rendered it doubly difficult to keep in check the adherents of Zapolya. At the diet of Ofen, in January 1528, they formed three distinct classes; those who, spite of the oath they had sworn to King Ferdinand, endeavoured to seduce his subjects to revolt; the vacillating, who had demanded safe conduct in order that they might go and do homage to the king, and then had never appeared; and lastly, Zapolya's open followers, who carried on a system of plunder, and rendered the country insecure. It does not appear that any effectual measures were taken against any of them. On the other hand, Zapolya neglected no means by which he could, from his exile at Tarnow, keep Hungary in a state of agitation. George Martinuzzi, a monk of the Pauline order, who had formerly been in the service of Zapolya's mother, was so devoted to him that he three times ventured into Hungary on foot. He boasts of the good reception he had experienced from Jacob von Thornaly, Stephen Bathory of Somlyo, and Paul Arthandy. He wandered from castle to castle, revived old connexions, and prepared every thing for his lord's reception.\* The main thing was, that he was the bearer of promises of Turkish succours. In the beginning of the year 1528 a treaty had been concluded between Zapolya

\* His letter to Verantius in Pray, and thence in Katona, xx. 1. 409. See Isthuanzi, p. 126.

and Suleiman. This was not the result of presents, for the ambassador, Jerome Lasko, had brought none; nor of any promise of tribute, but solely of political motives. Zapolya had declared that he would, now and always, serve the mighty sultan with all the powers of his kingdom, of his hereditary possessions, and even of his own person. "I, on the other hand," said Suleiman, in the solemn audience of leave, "will be a true friend and ally to your master, and support him against his enemies with all my power. I swear it by the prophet, by the great prophet beloved of God, Mohammed, and by my sword."\* Unquestionably nothing could be more conducive to the progress of the Turkish power than a strict alliance with so influential a chief. Suleiman considered himself as the most formidable rival of the House of Austria, — the natural head of the opposition to it, in which he included France, Venice, Poland, and the pope himself; "that poor priest from whom the faith of the Christians emanates, and whom they nevertheless so remorselessly maltreat." He was convinced that he ought immediately to oppose resistance to the power of the emperor Charles V.; "for," said he, "it is like a stream formed of small brooks and melting snows, which at length undermines the strong castle in the mountain gorge."† The Aus-

\* Lasky's Statement in Katona, xx. 1. Lasky declared in Zapolya's name, "*non solum Ungariæ regnum, non solum dominia patrimonii sui, sed et personam suam propriam non suam esse vult sed vestram,*" p. 319.

† Habordancz Report, in Bucholtz, iii. 596.

trian ambassadors assert that the king of Poland sent a special messenger in October 1528, inviting the sultan to declare war upon the emperor in the following year; in which case he would come to his assistance. Suleiman was, however, already resolved upon it. When Habordancz, the envoy sent by Ferdinand to Constantinople, to demand the restitution of twenty-four fortresses formerly belonging to Hungary, offered only a pecuniary compensation in return, the sultan replied, that he would come in person, with all his troops, to defend those fortresses. It may easily be imagined what a ferment this prospect of war excited in Hungary. As early as September 1528, Andrew Bathory wrote to king Ferdinand that he lived surrounded by rebels, and with death before his eyes. The same year, Peter Raresch, Hospodar of Moldavia, who had long been a fisherman, but was now recognised as a true Dragoschide of the house of the great Stephen, invaded and laid waste the diocese of Szekler.\* Every thing seemed to tend to a great catastrophe.

While such an universal ferment prevailed in the East and in the West, it was hardly possible that stormy Germany should escape the contagion.

\* Engel, Geschichte der Wallachei, p. 170.

## CHAPTER II.

## GERMANY DURING THE AFFAIR AND TIMES OF PACK.

WE invariably find the Dukes of Bavaria in more or less intimate connexion with the foreign princes hostile to the empire — the king of France\*, the woiwode, and above all, the pope.

They had still not relinquished their hopes of the imperial crown. They carried on incessant intrigues with the leading electoral princes, and made them magnificent promises. They also tried to set the king of France again in motion.

We are in possession of a project which they communicated to the French court with a view to the attainment of their end.† It was proposed that French ambassadors, supported by those of Lorraine and of England, should appear at the next diet of the empire, and should remind the States what numerous and severe losses the church and the empire had sustained, since the House of Austria had occupied the imperial throne. Constantinople, Rhodes, and now Hungary, were lost

\* Lettre de Breton au Gr. Maitre, 17th May, 1528 (MS. Bethune). "Le secretaire du duc de Bavière, que vous savez, est depuis deux (jours?) ici et a eu fort bonne audience du roi."

† Forme et manière de conduire et mener l'affaire d'élection au nom du roi de France. MS. Bethune, 6593 f. 93. See the agreement with Mainz ; Stumpf, p. 50.

to christendom; Basle and Constance to the empire; the sole object of the princes of Austria was to make the empire hereditary, and to aggrandise themselves in every possible way; (as an example of which, Don Ferdinand's recent attempt to get possession of Salzburg was to be cited): hereupon they should call upon the States to proceed to the election of another emperor; to elevate to the throne a man who would rule uprightly, and restore Germany to its former prosperity; who should be a true and good catholic, able to eradicate all heresies. With such an emperor, the king of France should engage to form the strictest alliance.\*

It is very probable that these negotiations were carried further. It is at least certain that the Bavarians hoped to gain over the Palatinate and Treves; the Elector of Brandenburg, through the influence of France, and the Elector of Saxony by corrupting his councillors.† This we gather from the expressions of the pope and his legate, as well as from those of Cardinal Wolsey.

It is, however, remarkable enough that the

\* The conclusion runs thus : "Au surplus nos princes sont délibérés de n'obmettre rien de leur labeur et vigilance, et d'essayer tous les moyens qu'ils verront être nécessaires pour la fin de cette affaire, et qu'ils ont espérance, Dieu aidant et la bonté du roi tres chrétien, achever l'affaire ainsi qu'ils le désirent."

† "Möchten etliche seiner Rätthe durch Geld abzurichten seyn:" "some of his councillors might be to be brought round with money." Extracts from a memoir, probably of Duke William, in *Sugenheim, Baierns Zustände, &c.*, p. 9.

opposite (i. e. the evangelical) party had also made advances to the powers hostile to Austria.

We find an emissary of the Landgrave of Hessen, Dr. Walter, at the court of France. Another we see setting out on his way to John Zapolya, and trace his progress through the whole of his journey. This was the celebrated Dr. Pack. In the Passion week of 1528, we find him in Senftenberg, where he gave himself out to be a canon of Meissen; at Easter, in Breslau, where he hired a servant who could speak Polish; on the 18th of April, at Cracow. Here, in the church of St. Barbara, he had his first interview with a follower of the woiwode, at which they determined that he should visit that prince in person. When Pack reached the neighbourhood of Tarnow, where the woiwode then resided, he alighted from his carriage and proceeded on foot into the city, in order not to attract attention. On the 26th and 27th April we find him negotiating with the woiwode; a formal treaty was drawn up, and nothing was wanting but the ratification of the landgrave.\* The landgrave had demanded money to enable him to attack Ferdinand in Germany. The woiwode promised to procure 100,000 gulden from his brother-in-law, the king of Poland. The report that Poland had promised the sultan to attack Ferdinand with German troops, may very probably be traced to this treaty.

It is impossible to calculate the consequences

\* We have taken all the details from the confession of Hans Schuoch of Breslau, the same whom Pack hired as his servant.

that must have resulted from a prosecution of these schemes, which were aimed by the one party at Charles's imperial dignity, while the other intended to attack Ferdinand in his hereditary domains\*; especially at a time when all other social and political relations were shaken.

But such projects were not destined to be realised. The Dukes of Bavaria and the Landgrave of Hessen were wholly ignorant that they were allies. Indeed, such violent antipathies, chiefly from religious causes, arose among the sovereigns of Germany, that they gave birth to one of the most singular complications that ever occurred in history.

In consequence of so many evangelical princes having thrown off the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, numerous complaints were laid before the imperial court; and, in the existing state and spirit of the imperial chanceries, these complaints could not fail to meet with a hearing: it is perfectly true that the expediency of resorting to punishments, and even to the ban, was there sug-

\* It was the general opinion that the troubles in the Mark, and the attacks made by Minkwitz upon Lebus, were connected with this. Duke George writes to Hoyer von Mansfeld (March, 1529), "It is credibly reported to us that a very great business was in hand, and although it is set on foot in the name of some of the nobles, we cannot give much heed to it, since a great deal of money is given to the persons employed. It is said that this business is undertaken for the advantage of the Wayda, and against the country of Laussnitz and the elector of Brandenburg." The duke was just then intending to have an interview with the elector. It was he who arrested Minkwitz.



gested. Nassau, which had old territorial dissensions with the landgrave of Hessen, sought to secure itself against this contingency by mandates.\*

A vague rumour of these designs found its way to Germany. The landgrave was warned by a man of great consideration, as he says, "whom he would not name, but who knew from good authority that there was something in hand—extraordinary practices (*merkliche practica*)—against the Lutherans."

The landgrave, however, did not look so far for the origin of the danger. He saw only the hostilities of which the adherents of the new doctrine were the objects, in Bavaria and the whole of Upper Germany; the violent menaces uttered by Duke George of Saxony against his cousin the elector; his declarations that nothing should induce him to be reconciled to that prince so long as he adhered to the Lutheran sect, and that he only waited for the emperor's commands to proceed against him. It appeared to the landgrave a suspicious circumstance that zealous catholic princes had visited King Ferdinand at Breslau, in May 1527, and had afterwards afforded him assistance in Hungary; in short, he was fully persuaded that a plot against him was in agitation among his neighbours.

Just at this time it happened that the steward of the chancery of Duke George — Otto von Pack

\* Heinrich v. Nassau to Joh. v. Nassau; Arnoldi, *Memoirs*, p. 200. The letter is of the 13th April, before Pack's affair, of which nothing was then known, especially in Spain.

— the same who undertook the journey to Tarnow — in the course of the year 1527 came to the landgrave, who was then at Cassel, to give him information and legal advice as to the affair with Nassau. The landgrave disclosed to him his apprehensions, and pressed him to say whether he knew any thing about the matter. Pack sighed, and was silent. This only increased the landgrave's urgency. Pack at length declared, that a league against the Lutherans was indeed not only in hand, but actually concluded. He engaged to procure the original documents for the landgrave, who, in return, promised him his protection and a reward of 10,000 gulden. Landgrave Philip was now inflamed with indignation. In February 1528, we find him in Dresden; whither Pack brought, not, indeed, the original of the treaty, which, he said, the chancellor had laid aside, but a copy of it, bearing all the outward marks of authenticity. The seal of the Saxon chancery was affixed on both sides to the black silk cord which tied the sheets of paper together, and beneath it hung the seal of the signet ring which Duke George wore (and which the landgrave knew perfectly well), with his three escutcheons; in the upper one the rue garland; in the lowest, two lions. Pack allowed the landgrave's secretary to take a copy of it, and received four thousand gulden.\*

\* Statement of the Landgrave, in a letter to Duke George, of the 28th June, which Rommel (iii. 21.), speaks of as lost, but which is in the Dresden archives. I shall give it in the Appendix.

This document contained the most alarming and hostile matter that it was possible to conceive. It appeared therein that the Electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the Bishops of Saltzburg, Würzburg, and Bamberg, in conjunction with King Ferdinand, had bound themselves in the first place to fall upon the Elector of Saxony, if he refused to deliver up Luther and his followers, and to partition his territory: and next to attack the landgrave, and if he would not recant, to drive him out of his country, which was then to be given to Duke George. The city of Magdeburg was also to be reduced to subjection to its bishop. The mode, as well as the means, of attack were accurately determined.

The landgrave, long filled with suspicions of this kind, did not for a moment doubt the authenticity of the document laid before him: he hurried, with his habitual vehemence, to Weimar, in order to communicate it to the elector. Even he was stunned and hurried away by the amazing, yet precise and urgent nature of the danger; and on the 9th of March a treaty between the two princes was concluded, in which they promised to raise six thousand foot and two thousand horse for their mutual defence. They concluded that it would be better not long to await the attack, but to anticipate it. The landgrave himself went to Nürnberg, and thence to Ansbach. It was under these circumstances that he sent Otto Pack, whom he had now attached more closely to his service, to the woiwode. Warlike preparations began without

delay. The Hessian troops assembled near Herrenbreitungen; the Saxon, in the Thuringian forest. The whole of Germany was in motion.

The situation of things in the evangelical part of Germany was not however such, as to depend solely on the hasty spirit of this or that prince. The theologians too, especially Luther, had a voice to give; and the first question was, what opinion this voice would pronounce.

Luther had as little doubt as the two princes of the genuineness of the treaty laid before him; but he thought it did not justify an immediate resort to arms. Such violent measures were opposed to all his ideas of law and morality. He therefore thought it his duty to remonstrate with the princes on their designs, and beg them to desist from them: an accusation, he said, must first be laid against their enemies, and the answer heard; otherwise, violence and confusion would break out among the princes of Germany, which, to the joy of Satan, would lay waste the country. Of all the men who ever placed themselves at the head of a great movement, Luther was perhaps the most averse to violence and war. He held that self-defence was lawful, especially against princes like those above named, who, as the equals of his master, had no sovereignty over him; but to be the first to take up arms and proceed to acts of offence,—that was beyond his comprehension.\* He applied the words, “Blessed

\* Remarks in de Witte, iii. 316., Nos. 986, 987., but doubtless to be dated March, and not May. For they are mentioned already in a copy of instructions in Neudecker's Documents,

are the meek and the peacemakers," to political affairs. "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." "War," said he, "ventures all, wins little, and is certain to lose; but meekness loses nothing, risks little, and wins all."

It was easy to persuade Elector John, who understood the gospel as Luther did, and loved it with all his heart; he had merely been hurried away by the vehemence of his impetuous ally. He now represented to Philip that an attack might bring dishonour on the gospel, and that they must therefore refrain from it. The landgrave replied, that the treaty of their enemies, sealed and sworn to by them, was equivalent to an attack; he represented the advantage of taking immediate and active measures for their defence; it would awaken many who now slumbered, and would enable them to obtain safer terms. But the elector could no longer be prevailed on to advance a step. He sent his son, accompanied by a trusty councillor, named Wildenfels, to Cassel, with so decided a refusal, that the landgrave was forced at length to follow Luther's advice, and in the first place to make the treaty known, and demand an explanation from the princes therein named. He instantly sent it to his father-in-law.\*

p. 33., which, though undated, certainly falls in March, since the elector says therein that he has summoned some of his friends on the Friday after Judica (3d April), "right presently" (*schirstkünftig*).

\* Letter in the Weimar archives, undated, but of the earlier half of April, in answer to the above-named instructions. "I will certainly see that I shortly obtain the same (the original).

It is impossible to describe the astonishment that seized the German courts at the appearance of the accusation founded on this document.

Duke George answered immediately, and denounced the man who affirmed that he had seen the original of such a treaty, as a false and perjured villain. Elector Joachim demanded, as did Duke George, that the name of the liar who had forged this treaty should be published, lest people should think the landgrave himself had invented it. All the others answered in the same manner. The landgrave saw himself compelled to arrest his informer, and to allow him to be brought to trial.\*

We too must here discuss the question, which does not seem even yet to be set at rest,—what was the real truth concerning this alleged treaty?

In the first place, it is full of the grossest improbabilities. Elector Joachim, for example, was to abandon Hessen to the duke of Saxony, (to which, in virtue of the hereditary union of the houses, he had quite an equal claim), stipulating to

But had F. L. followed my advice, and that of others, at Weimar, and not grudged a little cost, I should have it already at this time." It is clear that Pack from the very first demanded money. Philip declared in a later letter to Duke George (Rommel, iii. 17.), that it was only within the last three or four weeks that he had allowed money to be offered to Pack.

\* The answers, as well as the pretended treaty itself, are to be found in Hortleder and Walch. In the Dresden archives there is also a copy of instructions of Ferdinand's, in which he requests Duke George to come to the bottom of the affair, and to make out how and where it arose.

receive Beeskow and Storkow as a compensation; though these had for some years become the property of the bishopric of Lebus.\* The Dukes of Bavaria were represented as uniting with Ferdinand to give him possession of Hungary — the very country which they were striving to wrest from him. The plan of the campaign, too, was most strange; and there is a certain ironical truth in what Pack afterwards said, when, in order to excuse himself, he described the whole scheme as “ foolishly laid ” (*närrisch gestellt*).†

We have also to consider the character of Pack. In the Dresden archives there are documents concerning him, from which it is evident that he was untrustworthy, treacherous,—in short, a thoroughly bad man. He made use of his position at court to extort money. For example, he borrowed from the council of Tennstädt some hundreds of gulden, under specious pretexts, and postponed payment from term to term. In the list of his creditors are also four other Saxon towns, Pirna, Meissen, Oschatz and Chemnitz.‡

But the following story is still more discreditable to him. On one occasion, when he went to Nürnberg on his lord's business (we find him more than once in the character of envoy to the

\* Wohlbrück, Geschichte von Lebus, ii. 414.

† Printed in the Acta concerning Doctor Otto v. Pack's examination in Cassel, in Hoffman's collection of unprinted Reports, p. 98.

‡ Missives found in Dr. Pack's house when he was arrested. Dresden Archives, No. 7398.



diet), the Bishop of Merseburg entrusted him with his contingent for the Council of Regency and the imperial chamber, amounting to 103½ gulden. The diet was over, and Pack long returned, when the bishop received a citation to pay his contingent. Pack, being questioned about it, declared, without any embarrassment, that he had given the money to a Nürnberg citizen of the name of Friedemann, who had delivered it to the Council of Regency, but had got no receipt, because some former arrears were still due. As a proof, he subjoined Friedemann's letter and seal. Friedemann was of course immediately called to account. What was the surprise of the council, when the honest citizen declared he hardly knew Dr. Pack, — never had had any dealings with him, nor received money from him: he likewise observed that the Council of Regency would certainly have given him a receipt for the sum which he had actually paid in, though not for the whole debt; that the handwriting and seal which the doctor had produced could not possibly be his. Both these documents are in the archives; and, in fact, the handwriting which Pack had sent in, is totally different from that of Friedemann. In short, Pack was already practised in forgery, when this opportunity of making money, on a larger scale than heretofore, presented itself. He used his skill to such a purpose, that, as we have seen, Germany was very nearly involved in civil war. He himself afterwards did not persist in asserting the genuineness of the forged documents. He abandoned the assertion

that he had had in his hands the original, authenticated by the seals of all the princes, and only affirmed that a Bohemian secretary, named Wurisyn, had brought him a copy out of Silesia. But even this turned out to be false. The secretary proved that, at the time mentioned by Pack, he was not in Dresden: he was then a fugitive from his creditors.\*

A document so filled with contradictions, and proceeding from so fraudulent and mendacious a man, must be entirely rejected. I find, too, that the opinion that Pack had practised a cheat, was, even at the time, very generally diffused. Melancthon was persuaded of it the instant he read the first examinations.† Chancellor Brück instituted a more searching inquiry, and came to the same conclusion.‡ Landgrave Philip more than once frankly acknowledged it. He was afterwards reproached with having, on that occasion, undertaken much and accomplished little. "That hap-

\* Examination of Wurisyn, in a convolute in the Dresden Archives, entitled, Proceedings concerning the Affair between Dr. Otto Pack and Caspar Wurisyn. I must expressly remark that, in the whole account of this affair, I do not use any thing that Pack confessed on the rack, as evidence.

† To Camerarius Corp. Rep. i. 988. Alter sane odiose extorsit pecuniam nobis valde dissuadentibus: αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθῇ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ. Camerarius had very much moderated these expressions. Dr. Bretschneider has restored them.

‡ Oratio de Gregorio Pontano habita a Vito Winshemio. Declam. Melancthonis tom. V. p. 205. "Principes *commenticio* fœdere moti, arma ceperunt.—Re inquisita Pontani diligentia exercitus dimissi sunt."

pened," said he, "because we felt that we were deceived. We found that we had been falsely informed." \*

Fortunate would it have been, had he yielded to this conviction sooner than he actually did.

But before the falsehood of the supposed project was become perfectly obvious, he had already fallen upon the Würzburg territory, and threatened Bamberg on the one side and Mainz on the other. He now demanded that those who had caused his armament should pay the cost of it. As no one was prepared to resist him, the bishops were compelled, in spite of the mediation of the Palatinate and Treves, actually to pay him an indemnity, and to accede to unfavourable terms.

Happy as the elector of Saxony was that an unjust war would be avoided, he was fully sensible of the unpardonable nature of such violence, and of the precipitancy which had characterised the whole affair. "It almost consumes me," said Melancthon, "when I reflect with what stains our good cause is covered by it. I can only sustain myself by prayer." †

Even the landgrave was afterwards ashamed. "If it had not happened," said he, "it would not happen now. We know no act of our life that is more displeasing to us." ‡

\* Third reply in Hortleder, iv. 19. No. 26. p. 567.

† 13th September, passim. p. 998.

‡ Acts of the proceedings, legation and writings which took place under the most serene Lord Philip, in the affairs of Münster, Cassel, May, 1535. "As to the bishops, a plot came

But this did not remedy the evil, which, indeed, was followed by the gravest and the most dangerous consequences.

The protestant chiefs had laid bold plans for availing themselves of the complication of events in Europe, or had endeavoured to bring the religious dissensions of Germany to an open conflict. The only result, however, had been an outrageous breach of the public peace, which threw an ill light on all the proceedings and designs of the religious party.

For the common sense of what was due to justice and to the empire, now naturally revolted against them.

The members of the Swabian league, to which both the landgrave and the bishops belonged, were particularly discontented. The landgrave sent apologetic letters, and offered to abide the legal decision of Elector Louis. The League answered (November 1528) that no appeal to law was necessary; they would adhere to the letter of their act of union. "I would that the day of judgment burst upon us," exclaims an envoy in his zeal, "that so we might be delivered out of this and other dangers."

before us which we and many others held to be true, and accordingly willed to save our subjects from it; but as we saw that we had been too lightly informed, we paused in our designs. The money that we have given, the electors have settled with us with a good will, nor are you to regard this our proceeding as an example, for we know no matter that more displeases us, that we have done in all our life, than even this; had it not happened, it would now never happen.

Though there existed in the leaders of both parties a certain inclination to oppose the House of Austria, and to join the European confederation against it, we find that affairs took a totally different direction; and that it was in fact a mistake, a fraud, and an act of rashness, which brought all the conflicting passions into play.

This could not, indeed, have been the case, had not the internal dissonances become every hour stronger and deeper.

As, on the evangelical side, institutions in harmony with the new opinions began to be organised; so, on the other, measures were proposed to strengthen the tottering edifice of catholicism.

In some places, similar means to those used by the Lutherans were resorted to. In the years 1527, 1528, we find visitations of the churches in Austria, by commissions composed of ecclesiastical and lay members, like those in Saxony, only in a contrary sense. These were appointed in the hope of bringing about the observance of the edict of Regensburg, and the archducal mandates founded thereupon, by gentle means\*; but it was soon perceived that the new opinions were already widely diffused. Recourse was then had to punishments. On the 20th of July, 1528, it was ordered that heretics should be punished, not as ordinary criminals, but as malefactors of the highest order.† On the 24th of July not only all printers, but all venders of

\* Bucholtz, viii. 139.

† Raupach, ii. 49.

sectarian books, were threatened with death by drowning, as poisoners of the country. Edicts were published to restore the spiritual authority which had so greatly declined.\*

In Tyrol the decree of the empire of 1526 was interpreted in favour of catholicism; and the government declared it would no longer be bound by the concessions made the preceding year.

In Bavaria the main point was already gained; and the only solicitude of the government was, not to permit the abhorred doctrines to creep in anew. The streets were watched, and those who attended the preachings in the neighbourhood, were immediately seized and punished. At first they were fined; but as this was ascribed to the duke's avarice, he would receive no more fines. He next caused nine men to be put to death by fire in Landsberg, and twenty-nine by water in München. The name of the unfortunate Leonhard Käsar is well known. He had come from Wittenberg to his birthplace at Schärding, to visit his dying father; here he was betrayed, seized, and carried to Passau, where he was condemned, and soon after burned.†

The Swabian league also proceeded with its executions. In 1528 the captains of the League received orders to remove all who were suspected of holding anabaptist opinions from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and to put them to death without the forms of trial. The council of Nürn-

\* E. g. in Raupach, ii. Appendix, N. viii.

† Schelhorn, in Winter, i. 258.

berg protested against this ; not indeed out of any inclination for the anabaptists, but because they thought that, under the pretext of hunting the wolf, the League meant to seize the sheep ; — that this was in fact but a cover for the persecution of the followers and preachers of the Word.

The Bishop of Constance obtained an imperial mandate, in virtue of which all who were settled within the boundaries of his diocese were warned to submit themselves to “ his spiritual jurisdictions, bannalia, presentations, first fruits, and other ancient usages and good customs.” The bishop proceeded with great severity against heretics. John Hüglin, of Lindau, was delivered over to the secular tribunal in Mörsburg, “ as an enemy of the holy mother church,” and committed to the flames.

The same thing took place on the Rhine. A preacher of Halle who was cited to appear at Aschaffenburg, was murdered on the way back ; a crime which was openly attributed to the chapter of Mainz.

In Cologne, Adolf Clarenbach was condemned to death ; because he would not believe that the pope was the head of the holy church ; because he seemed to doubt whether some things had not occasionally been established by councils, or might be established therein, contrary to the divine word\* ; and the like. The superiority of mind, the know-

\* The first question asked him on the Monday after Palm Sunday, 1528.



ledge, and the calm courage which the accused displayed at his trial, were truly admirable; and the town council of Cologne accordingly hesitated a long time to consent to his execution. It is affirmed that they were only induced to do so at length, by the declarations of the priests that the havoc made by the sweating sickness in Cologne was a vengeance of God upon the city for not punishing heretics. "Oh Cologne, Cologne!" exclaimed Clarenbach, as he was led to the stake, "why persecutest thou God's word? There is a mist yet in the heavens, but by and by it will disperse."\*

North Germany was no longer, indeed, the scene of these barbarous excesses of priestly tyranny; but Duke George still caused the poor people who would not take the Lord's supper because they were not allowed to receive in both kinds, to be whipped out of the country by the beadle and the hangman, in the most ignominious processions. In Brandenburg, at a diet held on the day of the Visitation of the blessed Virgin, in the year 1527, the elector and estates once more agreed to uphold the observance of the ancient ceremonies with all their might; to admit no parish priest without the permission of his ordinary; to protect the clergy in their possessions; and to proceed against offenders according to the mandates of his holiness the

\* Rabi Martyrerbuch, Part ii. pp. 243. 249. Here, as usual, we find in Rabus an old, cotemporaneous, and very circumstantial statement, bearing every mark of authenticity.

pope and his imperial majesty.\* The country at large, however, was not of the same way of thinking as the sovereign and the states. The first memorable opposition which Joachim I. experienced, was from his own wife, Elizabeth. She sided rather with the Ernestine house of Saxony, from which she sprang, and with her uncle John, than with her husband, against whom she had many other causes of complaint; and her physician, Ratzenberger of Brandenburg, one of the most zealous adherents of the new doctrine, brought her acquainted with Dr. Luther, whose books she had long admired and revered. At last she ventured to take the Lord's Supper in both kinds, in the secrecy of her own apartments in the palace; but the affair did not remain concealed; the whole violence of her husband's temper was excited, and he seemed disposed to execute the just-published mandate on his wife; he locked her up in her chamber, and, it is said, threatened to have her walled up within it. She succeeded, however, in making her escape. Disguised as a peasant, and attended by one male and one female servant, she arrived at Torgau, where the elector of Saxony then was, in the night of the 20th March, 1528.† She declared to him that if

\* Mandate Thursday after Annunciation, 4th July, recently given in Müller, *Gesch. der Reform. in der Mark*, p. 138.

† Spalatin's Report in Mencken, ii. 1116. The extracts from Seckendorff are not quite accurate. I also take leave to doubt the truth of the story which is found in this book, and has been disseminated in so many histories of the Mark, and its reformation; namely, that it was a daughter of the electress, named

she was burthensome to him, or likely to bring him into any danger, she would rather go on as far as her eyes could guide her. Elector John, however, invited her to stay with him, and gave her Lichtenburg, where she was free to live in entire accordance with her own pious inclinations.

Such was the state of things in Germany. What was regarded in one part as the most perfect piety, was punished in the other as the most horrible crime. What the one party sought to establish, the other endeavoured, under every condition and by every means, to extirpate.

The troubles caused by Pack are extremely characteristic of the political re-actions arising from the spiritual struggle.

Nor were these by any means the only hostilities existing in Germany.

In consequence of the rise of the Swiss church, discords which gradually acquired political importance, had broken out among the protestants

Elizabeth, who betrayed her. It is at least certain, that this princess was not a girl of fourteen, as is said. She was born in 1510, and was married to Erich, Duke of Calenberg, in July, 1527. (Bünting, Braunschw. Chronik. ii. 68.) Is it likely she was in Berlin in March, 1528? In the August of that year she gave birth to her first-born son at Münden. Her husband, who was forty years older than herself, delighted that she had brought him a son, promised to grant her a request. She begged for the liberation of a parish priest who had been imprisoned for administering the Lord's Supper in both kinds. (See Havemann, Duchess Elizabeth, p. 13.) And this was the princess who a few months later accused her own mother! The whole story is equally improbable.

themselves. We cannot advance a step further, without some examination of the religious movement of Switzerland: one of the most important incidents in the general progress of the reformation.

## CHAPTER III.

## REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

ALTHOUGH Switzerland formed a distinct community, and pursued a policy independent of the empire, it was imbued with the same moral and intellectual spirit which prevailed in Germany, and more especially in the North.

The efforts to throw off the domination of the priesthood which characterized the century, had also, at an early period, shown themselves here. The exemption of the clergy from the secular tribunals, and from extraordinary taxes, — the former claimed by the Bishop of Coire, the latter by the prelates and chapter of Thurgau, were disputed.

The literary tendencies of the German schools of poetry had also found acceptance here. In Lucerne, St. Gall, Freiburg, Bern, Coire and Zürich, we find similar institutions for the promotion of learning. Here, too, arose an extensive literary public, of which Erasmus formed the active centre from the time he settled in Basle.

Hence it happened that Luther's earliest writings excited so much interest in Switzerland. They were first printed in a collected form in Basle. As early as 1520, we find "A short Poem in Praise of Luther and in Derision of his Gainsayers," by a peasant of Thurgau. This spirit was fostered by

the students who returned from Wittenberg. The names of those who were present when Luther burned the pope's bull are still preserved. The doctrine spread from the plain country and the cities into the mountains; to the Grisons, Appenzell and Schwytz. The Administrator of Einsiedeln, one Geroldseck, was described by Zwingli as the father of all them that love God.\* That, notwithstanding these sympathies, the movement which arose in Switzerland assumed a different character—even as to religious questions—from that of Germany, was mainly the result of the intellectual character and training of the man who commenced and carried through the conflict—Ulrich Zwingli.

#### EARLY LIFE OF ZWINGLI.

Zwingli was born in the parish of Wildenhaus in Toggenburg, within whose boundary the Thur rises, at a height where neither cornfields nor fruit trees are to be seen, amidst green alpine meadows, crowned by bare and sturdy pines.

He was born on New Year's Day, 1484, a few weeks after Luther. His childhood fell about the time when the communes began gradually to emancipate themselves from the most oppressive of the feudal services due from them to the Abbot of St. Gall. This was effected chiefly under the

\* Letter to Myconius. Aug. 26. 1522. Zwinglii Opera, curantibus Melch. Schulero et Jo. Schulthessio, tom. vii. Epp. vol. i. p. 218.

conduct of his father, who was the most considerable man in those parts; Amman of his village, and proprietor of a large tract of meadows and upland pastures. Surrounded by numerous children, eight of whom were sons, he lived in patriarchal dignity. It was at that time the constant practice for one of a large family to devote himself to the priesthood:—this was the destination of Ulrich\*; his uncle, who was the first priest chosen by the people of Wildenhaus themselves, and who still held that office, undertook to qualify him for holy orders.

The most remarkable trait recorded of Zwingli's youth is, his natural, quick and clear sense of truth. He once mentioned that when he first began to reflect on public affairs, the doubt occurred to him whether a lie ought not to be more severely punished than stealing. "For veracity," added he, "is the mother and source of every virtue."

With this unpervverted sense of right, which he seemed to have imbibed from the pure air of his native mountains, he now entered the field of literature, public life and ecclesiastical affairs.

He studied at the schools of Basle and Bern; thence he went to the university of Vienna, and back again to Basle.† It was just the dawn of the revival of classical literature and its substi-

\* Properly, Huldreich — full of grace.—TRANS.

† His principal teacher in Basle was Thomas Wittenbach, himself a disciple of Paul Scriptor of Tübingen. Gualtherus *Praefatio ad priorem partem homiliarum in Ev. Matthæi ad Josuam Wittenbachium*. Misc. Tigur. iii. p. 103.



tution for the scholastic learning of the middle ages. Zwingli, like his teachers and friends, espoused this cause, to which he steadily adhered when he became, at a very early age, priest in Glarus. (1506.) He devoted all the leisure his duties left him to study. He made some attempts at composition in the style of the Latinists of that time; but he never succeeded in throwing his thoughts with full freedom into antique forms.\* He rather contented himself with reading and studying the ancients. He was more captivated by their matter, by their lofty feeling for the simple and the true, than excited to imitation by their beauty of form. He thought that the influences of the divine spirit had not been confined to Palestine; that Plato, too, had drunk from the sacred fount; he calls Seneca a holy man; above all, he reveres Pindar, who speaks of his gods in language so divine, that some sense of the presence and power of the Deity must have inspired him.† He is grateful to them all; for he has learned from all, and has been led by them to the truth. While occupied with such pursuits, he took up Erasmus's edition of the New Testament in Greek, and applied

\* De gestis inter Helvetios et Gallos ad Ravennam, Papiam aliisque locis relatio. By Freher-Struve iii. 171.

† Nihil est in omni opere, quod non sit doctum, amœnum, sanctum.—Quum aliquando Dei munere oculos recipimus eosque ad vetustissimos scriptores attollimus, jam videntur lux et virtus in conspectum venisse. See the preface and the conclusion which Zwingli, under the name Huldrychus Geminius, wrote for Ceperin's edition of Pindar, 1526. Misc. Tig. iii. 207.

himself to it with the greatest industry. In order to make himself thoroughly acquainted with St. Paul's epistles, he did not shrink from the labour of transcribing them in a fair hand\*, and writing on the margin the expositions of the fathers of the Church. Occasionally, he was bewildered by the theological notions he had brought with him from the university ; but he soon formed the determination to throw aside all other considerations, and to learn God's will from his pure and simple word. From the time he thus devoted himself exclusively to the text of Scripture, his intellectual sight became clearer. But, at the same time, convictions extremely at variance with the established order of things in the church, took possession of his mind. At Einsiedeln, whither he had removed in 1516, he said plainly to Cardinal Schiner, that popery had no foundation in Scripture.

But it was another circumstance which gave to his labours their characteristic direction. Zwingli was a republican ; reared in the perpetual stir of a small commonwealth, a lively interest in the political business of his country was become a second nature to him. At that time the war with Italy set all the energies of the Confederation in motion, and raised it to the rank of a great power in Europe. Zwingli more than once took the field with his warlike flock. He was present at the

\* Schuler, Huldreich Zwingli, Gesch. seiner Bildung zum reformator. Notes, p. 7.

battle of Marignano. But war had brought in the evils of foreign enlistment and of pensions. Public opinion was against them, as the disturbances which broke out at short intervals in Lucerne, Solothurn, Bern, and Zürich prove; the common people would hear nothing of treaties, according to which their sons and brothers were led to slaughter in strange lands; they demanded the punishment of the "German-French," the "crown-eaters;" in some cases the Grand Councils were actually forced to forswear "wages and gifts," and not unfrequently the diets published edicts against them; but the interests of those in power were too strongly connected with these abuses for them to be given up; a warlike youth was always ready to enlist in foreign service, and the evil increased from day to day. Zwingli, together with his admiration for the Latin writers, combined that for the German popular literature, (which, as we may recollect, was full of attacks upon prevailing abuses,) and as early as 1510 he wrote a somewhat diffuse fable, in which he set before the Confederation the corrupt practices of which they were the victims: he told them how they were vainly warned by faithful dogs against the seductions of cunning cats; how they must inevitably lose their freedom — freedom, that blessing which, after the example of their ancestors, they were bound to defend with spear and battle-axe, and never to endanger by a connection with foreigners; those, he said, who took pensions and gifts would bring about the destruction

of their bond of brotherhood.\* In spite of this we find that Zwingli himself lay, for a time, under the obligation of a pension from the pope. It doubtless appeared to him a totally different thing to accept a small salary from the pope, the spiritual head of the Confederation, and to take money from a sovereign with whom they had no connection, like the king of France; and accordingly it was against the partisans of that monarch that his zeal was first directed. In the year 1516, we find him engaged in a warm conflict with the French faction in Glarus, where, as in most parts of Switzerland, it was then in the ascendant. He failed indeed, for the king had gained over the most powerful of the inhabitants; and he makes the bitterest complaints of all he had to endure in consequence. At length he found himself compelled to quit his parish, and to take the subordinate place of vicar at Einsiedeln.† This, however, led him to a more complete and consistent development of his opinions. As the French party gradually became the dominant one, so his resistance to it gradually grew into a struggle against the system of pensions in general. The rise, throughout the Confederation, of alliances between families and leaders, founded chiefly upon personal

\* Huldrych Zwingli, the Priest's, fabulous Poem of an Ox and certain Beasts, to be understood of the present Course of Things.

† Epistola ad Joachimum Vadianum: ex Eremito 13 Jun. 1517. Epp. i. p. 24. Locum mutavimus Gallorum technis. Fui-mus pars rerum gestarum: calamitates multas vel tulimus vel ferre didicimus.

interests, he justly regarded as an event dangerous to the general liberty. Public morals and public opinion, offended by this abuse, found in him their most eloquent advocate. The precepts and examples of the ancients and of the scriptures, contrasted with the prevailing moral and religious dissolution; and the consciousness of an honest patriotism struggling against mercenary obsequiousness to foreign courts, raised in him a spirit which already gave earnest of his future endeavours to reform the whole condition, ecclesiastical and political, of his country; it only remained to be seen whether he could succeed in obtaining the wide field and the commanding position which such an enterprize demanded.

These he obtained at Zürich in the year 1519.

Zürich was, if not the sole, yet the principal, town in the Confederation, which had never allowed itself to be persuaded to accept the French pensions. Conrad Hoffmann, a canon of the cathedral, who enjoyed extraordinary respect, maintained the patriotic cause against foreign service and foreign pensions; he was eloquent, and he did not shrink from uttering severe truths to his audience. It was chiefly through his influence that Zwingli, in spite of much opposition, was elected secular priest at the cathedral.\*

Ulrich Zwingli here at once took up the position

\* Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 11.; "Especially because he heard, how that he preaches violently against pensions and pensioners—against the leagues and wars of the princes."

with regard to these two parties, which from that time he steadily maintained.

His first attacks were directed against all party alliances with foreign powers, even with the pope. He is said to have declared that Cardinal von Sitten, who recruited for the pope, did not wear a red hat and mantle without reason; "if it were wrung," said he, "you would see the blood of your nearest kindred drip from its folds." He laughed at the eagerness with which a wolf that only devoured beasts, was hunted, while the wolves that destroyed men were suffered to go unmolested.

The effects of the Lutheran movement just then began to be felt in Switzerland. No man was better prepared, or more eager, to take part in it than Zwingli. He too had had a battle on his own ground with a vender of indulgences, and had succeeded in keeping him at a distance. He wrote against the conduct of the court of Rome to Luther, and published an apology for him, in answer to the bull.

His preaching, for which he had a singular natural gift, produced a great effect. He attacked the prevalent abuses with uncompromising earnestness. On one occasion he painted the responsibility of the clergy in such lively colours, that several young men among his hearers instantly abandoned their intention of taking orders. "I felt myself," said Thomas Plater, "as it were lifted up by the hair of the head."\* Occasionally some individual thought the preacher aimed his remarks at him personally,

\* Autobiographie Platers Misc. Tig. iii. 253.

which Zwingli thought it necessary to guard against: "Worthy man," he exclaimed, "take it not to thyself;" and then proceeded in his discourse with a zeal which rendered him regardless of the dangers which sometimes even threatened his life.

But his efforts were mainly directed to rendering the meaning of scripture plainer to his hearers. With the permission of the chapter, he expounded not only the Perikopes\*, but the entire books of the scriptures as he had studied them†; for he strove to catch and to communicate the whole current and connexion of the divine thought. His doctrine was, that religion consisted in trust in God, love of God, and innocence of life.‡ He avoided every thing far-fetched or over-learned in his style; and his efforts to render his discourses intelligible to all, were crowned with success. In a wide circle of hearers he laid the foundations of that faith which stood fast in the day of the tempest, and afforded him firm support in all his undertakings.

\* *περικόπαι*. The passages from the Old and New Testament, selected to be read in churches. They were first published in a distinct Lectionarium, by Pope Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, and were adopted by Charlemagne as the basis of the Homiliarium for his whole empire. This selection was retained by Luther.—TRANS.

† In the second Zürich disputations he mentions it; he began with Matthew.

‡ *De vera et falsa Religione: Veram pietatem, quæ nihil aliud est quam ex amore timoreque Dei servata innocentia.* Ed. Gualth. p. 202.



In daily life he was of an easy, cheerful disposition. He had learned how to live with men, and how to deal with them, in the republic of a village, in the camp, in the resort of strangers at Einsiedeln. He was not free from youthful vices, sometimes of an offensive kind; but his correspondence shows how earnest were his self-reproaches and his endeavours to amend. After a time his conduct became irreproachable.\* He laboured to subdue ebullitions of anger, as well as those of other passions; he drove away fantastic humours by music, for he too was a great lover of music, and a master of several instruments—an accomplishment no less common in Toggenburg than in Thuringia.† He loved a retired domestic life, and his favourite food was that of his country—various preparations of milk; but he never refused an invitation; he frequented the guild meetings of the citizens, the holiday feasts of the peasants, and enlivened every company by his cheerful spirit and pleasant discourse.‡ Laborious as he was, much as he undertook and accomplished, he repulsed no one; he had the art of saying something agreeable and satisfactory to every body. He was well made and robust, charitable and good-humoured; cheerful, accessible, contented, and at the same time full of the greatest and noblest thoughts.

\* To Heinrich Utinger, 4th Dec. 1518. Opp. vii. Epp. i. p. 55.

† Bullinger, Reformationsgeschichte, p. 31.

‡ Myconius, in Stäudlin's and Tzschirner's Archiv. i. ii.: Ingenio amœnus, ore jocundus.

If we compare him with Luther, we find that he had no such tremendous tempests to withstand, as those which shook the most secret depths of Luther's soul. As he had never devoted himself with equal ardour to the established church, he had not now to break loose from it with such violent and painful struggles. It was not the profound sense of the power of faith and of its connexion with redemption in which Luther's efforts originated, that made Zwingli a reformer; he became so, chiefly because, in the course of his study of scripture in search of truth, he found the church and the received morality at variance with its spirit. Nor was Zwingli trained at a university, or deeply imbued with the prevalent doctrinal opinions. To found a high school, firmly attached to all that was worthy of attachment, and dissenting only on certain most important points, was not his vocation. He regarded it much more as the business and duty of his life, to bring about the religious and moral reformation of the republic that had adopted him, and to recall the Swiss Confederation to the principles upon which it was originally founded. While Luther's main object was a reform of doctrine, which, he thought, would be necessarily followed by that of life and morals, Zwingli aimed directly at the improvement of life; he kept mainly in view the practical significance of scripture as a whole; his original views were of a moral and political nature; hence his labours were tinged with a wholly peculiar colour.

We must here devote a few words to the

question of the priority of his attempts at reform. It is not to be denied that, even before the year 1517, he, in common with many others, had evinced dispositions, and expressed opinions, which tended that way. But the essential point was the struggle with the spiritual power, and the separation from it. This struggle Luther undertook first, and sustained alone: he first obtained freedom of discussion for the new doctrines in a considerable German state; he began the work of liberation. At the time Luther was condemned by Rome, Zwingli was still receiving a pension from Rome. Luther had already stood impeached before the emperor and the empire, ere Zwingli had experienced the least attack. The whole field of his activity was different. While in the one case, we see the highest and most august powers of the world in agitation, in the other, it is a question of the emancipation of a city from an episcopal power.

But this incident of the great revolution which was now going on, has its interest; this enterprise also demanded intelligence and energy, and it is well worth while to devote some attention to it.

#### EMANCIPATION OF THE TOWN OF ZÜRICH FROM THE EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT OF CONSTANCE.

The city of Zürich, like the other cities of Switzerland, had long maintained a certain independence of the bishopric of Constance, to which it belonged, mainly supported by the collegiate chapter

of the cathedral. For some years peculiar circumstances had given a remarkable extension to the exercise of this independence.

The bishop of that time, Hugo of Hohenlandenberg, regarded with great displeasure the traffic in indulgences which was carried on in his diocese by the commissaries of Rome; he had fully consented that the council of Zürich should refuse permission to a vender of indulgences named Samson, who had already come as far as an inn belonging to Zürich on the banks of the Sil, to enter their territory. Zwingli carefully preserved the letter in which he was requested by the ecclesiastical authorities, to oppose resistance to men bearing full powers from the Roman Curia.\* Meanwhile two political considerations induced the Curia to treat the city with great moderation and respect.

In the year 1520 Zwingli had already secured a considerable number of decided adherents. The town council had actually given the secular priests and preachers in the city, permission to preach according to the divine scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to take no notice of any novelties in doctrine or discipline that might have been introduced†; an order which, in fact, involved

\* Antwort Zwingli an Val. Compar. Werke ii. 1. p. 7.; further on, the answer to Faber, April 30, 1526.

† "That they all and generally preach in freedom (as is also granted by the papal laws) the holy Gospels and Epistles of the Apostles, conformably with the word of God, and the true divine scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that they teach that which they receive and hold from the said scriptures, and

a defection from the church of Rome. It could not be said that the affair remained unknown to the Roman court, since two or three papal nuntios and a cardinal were present; but they did not venture on any opposition. Their conduct on this occasion is very instructive, as elucidating the general policy of the church. They promised Zwingli to raise his pension from fifty to a hundred gulden, on condition that he desisted from preaching against the pope. Zwingli, though in want of this addition to his income, rejected the offer. They then made him the same offer without annexing any condition; but even this Zwingli would not accept.\* The nuntios, however, were more interested in recruiting the army, with which they hoped to conquer Milan, than in any theological question whatsoever. Although the city was already thoroughly infected with the spirit of defection from the church, they entered into an alliance with it. "We are not reproached as heretics and apostates," says Zwingli, "but lauded with high titles."†

The ordinary of the diocese favoured the new mode of preaching as a means of resisting the usurpations of Rome; the Roman see tolerated it, in order to attain the object of its political nego-

say nothing of other accidental innovations and rules." Answers which a Bürgermeister, council and the grand council of the city of Zürich gave to their confederates. Füssli Beiträge, ii. p. 237. See Bullinger, i. p. 20.

\* Uslegung und Gründe der Schlussreden, p. 359.

† Zwingli's opinion, in answer to the pope's brief. Werke, Bd. ii. Abth. ii. p. 393.

tiations; and thus the new doctrines were freely promulgated for years, and took fast root in the public mind.

At length, however, serious attention was excited by a violation of the discipline of the church. In March 1522, the people of Zürich broke the fast, and ate eggs and meat. Upon this the bishop, who found himself menaced with similar acts of insubordination, and saw his dispensations slighted, bestirred himself: he sent a special mission to the council of Zürich, requiring it to maintain the established usages and ceremonies of the church.

But it remained to be seen whether this was still possible; whether, at this epoch of fervent religious zeal, opinions which had undergone so radical a change, could be brought under subjection to the mere dictum of a spiritual head.

In the conference which followed the communication made to the Grand Council by these envoys, Zwingli maintained that many of the ceremonies of the church were just those which St. Peter had declared to be intolerable. This assertion received no satisfactory answer, even from the envoys; indeed one of them, Wanner, preacher of the cathedral of Constance, was of the same opinion in his heart.\* The Grand Council came to a resolution, evasive in form, but very intelligible in fact, that no one should break the fast "without notable cause;" and requested the bishop to obtain

\* Ep. Zwinglii ad Fabricium de actis legationis. Opp. i. p. 12.

from the spiritual authorities, or from the learned, an explanation as to the conduct to be observed with regard to the ceremonies, in order not to offend against the precepts of Christ.\* The bishop answered by impressing again upon the Grand Council the necessity of observing the ordinances and good customs of the holy Church, which he believed to be conformable with the scriptures. In a letter written with greater freedom and animation to the chapter, he indeed admitted that some things might have crept in which were not warranted by the holy scriptures, but added that an error shared with the whole of Christendom acquired a right to respect; on no account ought doctrines to be accepted which were condemned by the emperor and the pope; those who would not submit to the bishops, must be entirely separated from them.†

There were still some monasteries in the city which were not affected by the first resolution of the Grand Council; a great many persons, high and low, still held to the ancient usages, and consequently this admonition was not wholly without effect. The most violent opponents of the monks were recommended to moderate their language in the pulpit or in disputations.

But a circumstance purely accidental sufficed, in a short time, to produce a contrary result.

\* Füssli, Beiträge, ii. 15.

† His principle was, *Communis error facit jus. Hæc dogmata non prædicentur, nihil innovetur contra ecclesiæ ritum.*



About this time a Franciscan monk from Avignon (the same François Lambert whom we had occasion to mention in treating of the synod of Homberg) appeared in Switzerland. At an early age he had entered a convent of very strict observance in search of peace and piety, but had found nothing but secret vices and hateful passions.\* In this state of things, some of Luther's works had fallen into his hands, and he determined to quit his cloister and repair to Luther himself in Wittenberg. This monk, still habited in the garb of his order, and riding upon an ass, now made his appearance in Zürich. His catholic orthodoxy was shaken, but not as yet destroyed. He could not bring himself to discontinue the ceremonies of the church, nor to give up the intercessions of the saints. Seated at the high altar of Our Lady's minster, he held discourses to that effect in Latin. During one of these, Zwingli called out aloud, "Brother, thou errest!" The orthodox party hoped therefore to find an ally in Lambert; and as they perceived that he was learned and of ready speech, they got up a disputation between him and Zwingli. This was held on the 17th of July, in the refectory of the canons. But the result was very different from what was expected. The Franciscan was a man who loved truth and sincerely sought it. He soon perceived the superior weight of his

\* *Francisci Lamberti rationes propter quas Minoritarum conversationem traditumque rejecit. Schellhorn, Commentatio de vita Lamberti. Amœnitat. literariæ, iii. p. 312.*

antagonist's arguments ; and was at length entirely convinced by the passages of scripture which Zwingli placed before him. He raised his hands, thanked God, and vowed to lay aside all litanies, and to call on his name alone.\* He left Zürich in the same humble way as he had entered it, and in progress of time we find him in Eisenach, in Wittenberg, at a later period, as we said, in Homberg, and lastly, in Marburg. His attempt to give to the German church a constitution different from that established by Luther, is sufficient to perpetuate his memory to all succeeding time.

This disputation produced the greatest effect in Zürich. It was held on a Thursday. On the Monday following (the 21st of July), the council once more called the readers of the Orders, the canons, and the secular priests, into the provostry. Zwingli now felt himself strong enough to open the discussion by severely censuring the sermons preached in the convents without any warranty from scripture. The bürgermeister renewed the proposal to both parties, to refer their differences to the decision of the dean and chapter. But Zwingli declared that he was the preacher, the bishop, of the city ; he had taken upon himself the cure of souls in it with his vow ; he would not suffer that men who had in no respect any true vocation, should preach in the convents against God's word ; rather than that, he would mount the pulpit and publicly contradict them. Already

\* Bernhard Weiss in Füssli Beiträgen, ii. 42.

he had the whole audience on his side; and at length the bürgermeister declared in the name of the council, that it was its will, that the pure word of God should be preached in the city, and that alone.

Before this conference, preaching according to scripture was only permitted, or recommended to the secular priests; now, it was rendered imperative even on the monks.

If we inquire on what authority Zwingli grounded his refusal to conform to the bishop's ordinances, we shall find that it was mainly derived from the idea of the Commune.\* He was of opinion that all that the scripture says with regard to the church, was especially applicable to each separate commune (congregation). He seems even to have assumed, that such a body, so long as it did not attempt to introduce any new doctrines or practices, and contented itself with hearing God's word, and deciding all controversies according to that, could not fall into error.† He regarded the Grand Council as no less the ecclesiastical, than the political representative of the rights of the commune. His

\* *Gemeinde*.—We have no word that expresses the double sense, ecclesiastical and civil, of this. I have therefore been obliged to resort to the French word Commune, which will be generally understood.—TRANS.

† Second Disputation. Liv. W. i. p. 470. "Hence it follows also that this our convocation, which hath met together, not for the injury of certain Christians, but to hear the word of God, cannot err; for it undertaketh not to settle or to unsettle, but will only hear what can be found out from certain portions of the word of God."

plan of proceeding was, as he once expressly declared, to continue to discuss each question in his sermons till every body was convinced; and not till then to bring it before the Grand Council; after which the forms necessary to be established should be determined on, in concert with the ministers of the church. The council, says he, holds the supreme power as representative of the commune.\*

It is manifest that this theory furnished a totally different basis for an infant ecclesiastical society, from that on which the reformers of Germany were building. In fact and practice, the difference was not, however, so great; in Germany, the preachers united with the sovereign of the country; in Switzerland, with the civic authorities of the city: but the circumstance, that the former were referred to a Recess, while the latter already possessed the sovereignty *de facto*, and now exercised it in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs, forms a very marked distinction in theory, and one very important to the future development of the institution.

The bishop issued a new decretal, anathematizing the doctrine, that a christian was not bound to live according to the rules laid down by the church; but without the slightest avail; since the very

\* Ante omnia multitudinem de quæstione probe docere: ita factum est ut quicquid diacosii (the grand council) cum verbi ministris ordinarent, jam dudum in animis fidelium ordinatum esset. Denique senatum diacosion adivimus, ut ecclesiæ totius nomine, quod usus postularet, fieri juberent. Diacosion senatus summa est potestas ecclesiæ vice. Subsidium de Eucharistia. Opp. iii. 339.

opinion which the commune held to with the greatest tenacity, was that which emancipated it from his authority.

The only real difficulty in their way, arose from the obstinacy of certain dissentients in their own body. There were still among them men who denounced Zwingli as a heretic.

In order to put an end to this state of things, and on the ground that the explanation which it had demanded had never been given, the council ordained a conference of its secular priests, curates of souls, parish priests, and preachers. This was in all respects agreeable to Zwingli's notions. He said that God would not ask what the pope and his bishops, or what councils and universities, had decreed, but what was contained in his word. The bishop, who does not yet appear to have given up all hope, also sent some delegates, under his vicar-general Faber; not indeed exactly to take part in the disputation, but to be present at it, and to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties.\* The conference, however, ended completely in Zwingli's favour. What, indeed, could his opponents say, after the principle had once been conceded, that the scripture, which neither lieth nor deceiveth, was the sole rule of faith. It is matter of surprise that so prudent a man as Faber should venture upon such

\* "Nit zu disputiren, sondern allein uffhören, rath geben und schidlüt zu seyn:" "not to dispute, but only to listen, to give counsel, and to be peace-makers." Faber Warlich Unterrichtung bei Hottinger, i. 437.

slippery ground. He boasted that he had proved from scripture the doctrine of the invocation of saints, to a priest infected with the heresy; upon which Zwingli challenged him to adduce the same proof, now, on the spot. He failed, as might be expected, thereby affording Zwingli one of his most signal triumphs.\* In short, even zealous adversaries then confessed — what it is impossible to read the report of the proceedings without seeing — that Zwingli obtained a complete victory. Hence it followed, that the council expressly authorised him to continue in the course he had adopted, and repeated its admonitions to the clergy, neither to practise nor to teach any thing which they could not prove from the word of God.

We must observe well the words, ‘practise or teach;’ they involve an alteration of the ceremonies as well as of the preaching.

Already the change in the externals of the church was in full progress. The clergy married; nuns were at liberty to quit their convents, or to remain in them: “Know, dear Master Ulrich,” wrote the steward of the convent of Cappel, to Zwingli, “we are all of one mind with our abbot, — to accept the holy gospel and divine word, and to abide by it till death.”† Although there were still some zealous adherents of the old opinions in the monastery attached to the cathedral, yet the resolution to reform their body was adopted

\* Proceedings of the assembly in the worshipful city of Zürich, by Hegenwaldt, with extracts from Faber’s *Warlicher Unterrichtung* (true account) in Zwingli’s Works, i. p. 105.

† Jacob Leu, the steward, to Zwingli. Epp. i. 367.

by the canons themselves, and executed in concert with some delegates of the council. By far the greater part of the stole fees were abolished; and such arrangements made with regard to tithes and other sources of revenue, that a large and excellent school was established out of the funds. But the doubts which agitated the public mind more than any others, were those concerning the veneration of images and the mass,—two questions which were now daily more and more debated. Writings against the canon of the mass already appeared, and acts of violence had been committed upon the sacred images. The council deemed it necessary to lay these questions before a special ecclesiastical assembly, which was convoked in October 1523.

It was impossible for the independent character of an association detaching itself from the great hierarchical body, and assuming a constitution of its own, to exhibit itself in a more striking light, than at this meeting. The Bishop of Constance took good care to send no more delegates. The aged Conrad Hofmann, formerly Zwingli's great abettor, in vain repeated that a commune was not qualified to dispute concerning things of this kind.\* Zwingli's great principle was, that the church con-

\* "I was ten or thirteen years at Heidelberg, and I went to the house of a learned man, the same was called Dr. Joss, a good and godly man, and with him I ate and drank oft . . . there I continually heard that it was not seemly to dispute concerning these matters." Chunrad Hoffmanns Schriftlicher Fürtrag wider Zwinglis Reformation: Füssli Beiträge, iii. 93.



sisted not of pope, cardinals, bishops, and their convocations ; but of the commune, the Kilchhöri (church-hearers) : that was the church, like the first church at Jerusalem. (Acts, xv.)\* And the present meeting did, in fact, consist only of the clergy of the town and country of Zürich, with a few strangers, (as, in the example above quoted, it was remarked, there were messengers from Antioch), who under the presidency of the bürgermeister, Marx Röust, met at the town-house, to take counsel together concerning two of the weightiest questions that could occupy Christendom. Master Leu (Leo Judæ), secular priest of St. Peter's church, and Zwingli laid before the meeting the propositions, which they were prepared to defend ; the one, that it was unlawful to use any image in the worship of God ; the other, that the mass was not a sacrifice : they invited every man who objected to these propositions to confute them out of scripture. One after another rose for this purpose, but their arguments were easily answered. Those who had the most zealously opposed the new doctrines as heretical, were then called upon severally, by name, to prove their words. Some did not appear ;

\* “ ‘Ja Höng und Küssnacht ist eine gewissere Kirche denn alle zusammengerottete Bischöfe und Päpste.’ Die Versammlung selbst ist freilich auch keine Kirche, aber sie vindicirt der Gemeinde das Recht der Autonomie. Sie ist der erste Ansatz zur Presbyterialverfassung.” “ ‘Yes, Höng and Küssnacht (names of two towns or villages) is a more certain (truer) church than all the bishops and popes banded together. The congregation is, indeed, not properly speaking a church, but it is an assertion of the independence of the commune. It is the foundation-stone of the presbyterian form of church government.’ ”

others were silent; others declared themselves at length convinced, and merely apologised for having shared the general error. At the close of the proceedings, the Abbot of Cappel, whom we have already mentioned, exhorted the men of Zürich now undauntedly to espouse the cause of the gospel.\* Hereupon the priests were commanded not to preach against the two articles which had been triumphantly established at the conference. Zwingli drew up instructions for them, which were published by authority, and may be regarded as the earliest of all the symbolical books of the evangelical churches.

Thus did Zürich sever itself from the bishopric, (and hence from the whole system of the Latin hierarchy), and undertook to found a new form of church government on the basis of the Commune or Congregation.

Though the political constitution of the city rendered it impossible to complete the structure in exact conformity with the plan thus laid down, it is undeniable that the inhabitants of the town and country took a voluntary share in all the changes. No innovation was attempted to be put in practice till the result was rendered certain by the express approbation of the city communes; the Grand Council did not originate opinions, it only adopted them. Already had the clergy of the chapter of

\* Records of the second disputation (26. 27. 28. Wynmonats) Zwinglis Werke, i. 539. There exists also a report of it by Johann Salat, clerk of the Court at Lucerne. It is noticed in Füssli, Beiträgen, iii. 1.

Zürich repeated the resolutions of the city; afterwards the several communes (congregations) announced their approbation of the proceedings of the civic body, in separate acts of adhesion. The whole population was filled with that positive spirit of protestantism which has ever since distinguished it; and which has, from time to time, displayed its ancient spontaneity of action in the most remarkable manner.

RELATIONS OF THE SWISS REFORMERS TO LUTHER.  
CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER.

It is clear that there was nothing in these proceedings that can justify us in regarding them as a mere repetition of what had been passing at Wittenberg. As the growth and development of the characters of the two reformers, so were also the nature of the civil authority to which they adhered, and of the oppositions they had to combat, widely different. Essential divergencies in the direction of their ideas, and in the character of their doctrines, also manifested themselves, in spite of the various analogies between them.

The principal difference is, that, whereas Luther wished to retain every thing in the existing ecclesiastical institutions that was not at variance with the express words of scripture, Zwingli was resolved to get rid of every thing that could not be maintained by a direct appeal to scripture. Luther took up his station on the ground already occupied by the Latin church: his desire was only to purify; to put an end to the contradictions between the

doctrines of the church and the gospel. Zwingli, on the other hand, thought it necessary to restore, as far as possible, the primitive and simplest condition of the christian church; he aimed at a complete revolution.

We know how far Luther was from inculcating the destruction of images; he merely combated the superstitions which had gathered around them. Zwingli, on the contrary, regarded the veneration addressed to images as sheer idolatry, and condemned their very existence. In the Whitsuntide of 1524, the council of Zürich, in concert with him, declared its determination of removing all images; which it held to be a godly work. Fortunately, the disorders which this measure excited in so many other places, were here avoided. The three secular priests, with twelve members of the council, one from each guild, repaired to the churches, and caused the order to be executed under their own supervision. The crosses disappeared from the high altars, the pictures were taken down from the altars, the frescoes scraped off the walls, and whitewash substituted in their stead. In the country churches the most precious pictures were burnt, "to the praise and glory of God." Nor did the organs fare better; they too were connected with the abhorred superstition.\* The reformers

\* Bernhard Weiss, p.49. Bullinger Reform. Gesch. i. p. 102. *Leben Leonis Judæ Misc. Tigur. iii. 33.* "Anno 24 stalt man ab die processionen der Mönchen und Pfaffen, — ordnet Leut, die über die Särch (Reliquienkästen) gingend und vergrubind die Gebein oder Heilthum. Man täht die Orglen auss den

would have nothing but the simple Word. The same end was proposed in all the practices of the church. A new form of baptism was drawn up, in which all the additions "which have no ground in God's word" were omitted.\* The next step was, the alteration of the mass. Luther had contented himself with the omission of the words relating to the doctrine of sacrifice, and with the introduction of the sacrament in both kinds. Zwingli established a regular love feast (Easter 1525). The communicants sat in a particular division of the benches between the choir and the transept, the men on the right, the women on the left; the bread was carried about on large wooden platters, and each broke off a bit, after which the wine was carried about in wooden cups.† This was thought to be the nearest approach to the original institution.

We come now to a difference, the ground of which lies deeper; and which related not only to the application, but also to the interpretation, of

kilchen, das todtenläuten ward abgestellt, das wychen des Salt-  
ses Wassers Palmen: das verrichten der Kranke; —hernach  
thät man in der Stadt die Bilder us den Kilchen und uf dem  
Land wo es das Mehr werden möcht." "Anno 24 the proces-  
sions of monks and priests were abolished. People were ordered  
to go in search of reliquaries and dig up the bones or shrines.  
The organs were taken out of the churches, the death-bell  
abolished, the consecration of the salt and water and palms;  
the preparation of the sick; afterwards the pictures were  
taken out of the churches in the city and in the country,  
wherever there were the most of them."

\* Zwinglis Werke, II. ii. p. 230.

† Preface; Werke, II. ii. p. 234.

scripture, in reference to the most important of all spiritual acts.

It is well known how various were the views taken, even in the earliest times, of this mystery; especially from the ninth to the eleventh century, before the doctrine of transubstantiation became universally predominant. It is therefore no wonder if, now that its authority was shaken, new differences of opinion manifested themselves.

At the former period, they were rather of a speculative nature; at the latter, in conformity with the altered direction of learning, they turned more on interpretation of scripture.

Luther had no sooner rejected the miracle of transubstantiation, than others began to inquire whether, even independently of this, the words by which the sacrament was instituted were not subject to another interpretation.

Luther himself confesses that he had been assailed by doubts of this kind; but as, in all his outward and inward combats, his victorious weapon had ever been the pure text of scripture taken in its literal sense, he now humbly surrendered his doubts to the sound of the words, and continued to maintain the real presence, without attempting further to define its mode.

But all had not the same reverent submission to the literal meaning as Luther.

Carlstadt was the first who, in the year 1524, when he was compelled to flee from Saxony, offered a new explanation. This was indeed exegetically untenable and even absurd, and he himself at last

gave it up: in the attempt to establish it, however, he put forth some more coherent arguments\*, which gave a great impulse to the public mind in the direction it had already taken upon this point.

The modest *Æcolampadius* of Basle, among whose friends similar notions were current, began to be ashamed that he had so long suppressed his doubts and preached doctrines of the truth of which he was not thoroughly convinced; he took courage no longer to conceal his view of the sense of the mysterious institutional words.†

The young Bullinger approached the question from another side. He studied Berengarius's controversy, and came to the conclusion that on this important point, — the very point afterwards established by the reformation, — injustice had been done to that early reformer. He thought Berengarius's interpretation might even be found in St. Augustine. ‡

The main thing, however, was, that Zwingli declared his opinion. In studying the scripture after his manner, rather as a whole than in detached passages, and not without a continual reference to classical antiquity, he had come to the conviction that the *is* of the institutional words signifies nothing more than “denotes.” Already,

\* Dialogue of the ungodly Misuse of the Sacrament. Walch. xx. 2878. Of the unchristian Misuse of the Lord's Bread and Cup. Ibid. 138.

† Collection of the various declarations of *Æcolampadius* in his life, by Hess. p. 102.

‡ Lavater vom Läben und Tod Heinrychen Bullingers, 1578. p. 8.



in a letter dated June 1523, he declares that the true sense of the Eucharist can not be understood, until the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are regarded in exactly the same manner as the water in baptism.\* While attacking the mass, he had already conceived the intention of restoring the Eucharist to itself, as he expressed it.† As Carlstadt now brought forward a very similar interpretation, which he was unable to maintain, Zwingli thought he could no longer remain silent. He published his exposition; first in a printed address to a parish priest in Reutlingen (November 1524), then more at length in his essay, *On true and false Religion*. Although he was little satisfied with Carlstadt's explanation, he nevertheless availed himself of some of the same arguments which that theologian had employed; *e. g.* that the body of Christ was in heaven, and could not possibly be divided *realiter* among his disciples on earth. He rested his reasoning chiefly on the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, which was thus, as he thought, rendered perfectly clear.

No longer ago than the autumn of 1524, the great division of the church, into catholic and evangelical, had been formally accomplished; and al-

\* To Hans Wytttenbach, 15th June, 1523. *Panem et vinum vere esse puto ac edi etiam, sed frustra, nisi edens firmiter credat hunc solum esse animæ cibum. Omnia sunt planiora si τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, i. e. ficus ficus appellaverimus, panem dixerimus panem, vinum vinum.* (Epp. i. 258.)

† *Deliberavimus usui esse futurum si missa everteretur, quæ eversa speravimus etiam Eucharistiam sibi restitui posse. De vera et falsa Religione p. 269.*

ready an opinion was broached which was destined to work a violent schism in the evangelical church.

Luther did not hesitate to denounce Zwingli as a wild enthusiast, with whom he had frequently had to contend; he disregarded the fact that the removal of images in Zürich had been effected under the sanction of the civil authority, and that the Swiss reformers had found a point at which civil order might securely subsist, only a few steps further removed from traditional usage than that to which he had himself advanced. Indeed his notions of the affairs of Switzerland were altogether very vague and imperfect. He began the contest with great vehemence.

This is not the place to enumerate the polemical writings exchanged, or the arguments employed, on either side. The historian may, however, be permitted to make one remark.

It appears to me undeniable that the controversy was not to be terminated by a purely exegetic process.

That the *is*, in the text might have a figurative sense, cannot be denied, nor in fact does Luther attempt to deny it. He grants it in expressions such as, Christ is a rock, a vine, &c., "because Christ cannot be a natural rock." He only denies that the word had, or must have, a figurative meaning in the case under discussion.\*

Hence it clearly appears, that the ground of

\* Greater Confession, in Walch's Collection of Luther's Works, Part xx. p. 1138.

the controversy lay in their general view of the subject.

Zwingli's chief objection to the literal interpretation is, that Christ himself says, "I shall not be with you always;" thus implying that he would not be present in the Eucharist; and that, according to this interpretation, he must be omnipresent; whereas a local omnipresence is a contradiction in terms. The reply of Luther, who had an instinctive aversion to any departure from the simple, clear and literal meaning of words, is a general one;—that he holds fast to the infallible Word, and that to God nothing is impossible. But it is abundantly clear that he would never have been satisfied with this defence, had he not felt himself elevated above the objections of his antagonists, by the higher region from which he contemplated the whole subject. Being harder pressed, he at length enounced the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, which he regards as far more intimate than that between body and soul. Not even death, he says, had power to loose it; the human nature of Christ was raised above all natural existences, above and beyond all created beings, by its union with the Godhead. We have here a case, and by no means the only one, in which Luther, without being even conscious of it himself, reverts to opinions which were current before the development of the hierarchical supremacy, and the organisation of the system to which it gave birth. In the ninth century, Johannes Scotus Erigena reconciled the doctrines of the Eucharist

X and the two natures, if not in exactly the same, yet in a very similar manner.\* Luther goes on to teach that the identity of the divine and human natures is showed forth in the mystery of the sacrament. The body of Christ is the entire Christ, of a divine nature, exalted above all the conditions of the creature, and hence also easily communicable in the bread. The objection, that Christ says he would not be present always, he conclusively answers by the remark, that Christ was there speaking of his earthly existence.

It is evident why the sort of proof adduced by Zwingli had no longer any cogency for Luther. His own hypothesis enabled him to abide by the strict meaning of the words, as he was fond of doing; since they no longer presented any contradiction. And this hypothesis, which touches the highest mysteries of religion (though, with a reverent awe of dragging the mysterious into the conflict of the day, he rarely brought it forward), was, therefore, perfectly satisfactory to his mind.

Luther indeed here appears to us in the most characteristic light.

We have often remarked that he deviated from tradition, only so far as he felt himself absolutely constrained to do so by the words of Christ. To go in search of novelties, or to overthrow any thing

\* De divisione naturæ: Neander Kirchengeschichte, iv. 472. The difference mainly consists in this; that Scotus assumes more decidedly the glorification of the human nature by the divine. Caro in virtutem transformatam nullo loco continetur.

established that was not utterly irreconcilable with scripture, were thoughts which his soul knew not. He would have maintained the whole structure of the Latin church, had it not been disfigured by modern additions, foreign to its original design, and contrary to the genuine sense of the gospel: he would have acknowledged the hierarchy itself, if it had only left him freedom of speech; but, as that could not be, he was compelled to take upon himself the work of purification. He was so profoundly attached to the traditions of the church, that it was not without the most violent inward storms that he emancipated himself from accidental and groundless additions. But he held with the more unshaken tenacity to the great mystery, in so far as it was in accordance with, and supported by, the literal meaning of scripture.\* His mind embraced it with all its native depth; he was not only susceptible of the sublimest mysticism, but his whole soul was steeped in it.

It is true, Luther fell off from the church of Rome (or rather he was expelled from it), and wrought it more damage than any other man whatever. But he never denied its origin. If we take a comprehensive view of the great historical movement of opinion and doctrine throughout the world, we shall see that Luther was the organ

\* E. g. Carlstadt asked, Where has Christ commanded that the elements should be lifted up and shown to the people? (Walch, 2876.) Luther answered, Where does Christ forbid it? (p. 252.)

through which the Latin church resumed a freer, less hierarchical form, and one more in harmony with the original tendency of Christianity.

We must, however, admit that his views, especially of this subject, were always somewhat individual,—not fitted to produce conviction in all men, any more than the point from which he took those views could be shared by all. Nor were the more profound and eminent spirits who took an active part in the general movement of the century, by any means so well inclined towards the church as Luther. And as the evidence adduced by Zwingli failed to convince Luther, so Luther's hypothesis produced no impression upon Zwingli.

Zwingli had, as we have said, none of Luther's deep and lively conception of the universal Church, or of an unbroken connexion with the doctrines of past ages. We have seen that his mind, formed in the midst of republican institutions, was far more occupied with the idea of the Commune; and he was now intent on keeping together the communes of Zürich by a stricter church discipline. He tried to get rid of all public criminals; put an end to the right of asylum, and caused loose women and adulterers to be turned out of the city. With these views of politics and morals, he united an unprejudiced study of the scriptures, freed from the whole dogmatic structure that had been raised upon them. If I do not mistake, he did, in fact, evince an acute and apt sense for their original meaning and spirit. He regarded the Lord's Supper (as the ritual he introduced proves) in the light of a feast of

commemoration and affection. He held to the words of Paul; that we are one body, because we eat of one bread; for, says he, every one confesses by that act that he belongs to the society which acknowledges Christ to be its Saviour, and in which all christians are one body: this is community in the blood of Christ. He would not admit that he regarded the Eucharist as mere bread. "If," said he, "bread and wine, sanctified by the grace of God, are distributed, is not the whole body of Christ, as it were, sensibly given to his followers?" It was a peculiar satisfaction to him that, by this view he arrived directly at a practical result. For, he asked, how can the knowledge that we belong to one body fail to lead to christian life and christian love? The unworthy sinned against the body and blood of Christ. He had the joy of seeing that his ritual and the views he had put forth, contributed to put an end to old and obdurate hostilities.\*

Although Zwingli insists much on what there still was of supernatural in his scheme of the Eucharist it is clear that this was not the mystery which had hitherto formed the central point of the worship of the catholic church. We can easily understand the effect produced on the common people, by the attempt to rob them of the sensible presence of Christ. Some courage was required to resolve on such an experiment; but when this was actually made, the public mind was, as Ecolampadius says, found to be far better disposed for its reception than could have

\* *Expositio fidei*, Works II. ii. 241.



been suspected. This is, however, very explicable. People saw that they had gone too far to retract, in their defection from the church of Rome; and they found a certain gratification of the feeling of independence which that defection had generated, in rendering it as complete as possible.

Luther had, from the first moment, been treated with the greatest harshness; Zwingli, on the contrary, with the utmost gentleness: even in the year 1523 he received an extremely gracious letter from Adrian VI., in which no allusion was made to his innovations. Yet, it is obvious that Zwingli's opposition to the existing forms and institutions of the church, was far more violent and irreconcilable than that of Luther. Neither ritual nor dogma, in the forms which they had acquired in the course of centuries, any longer made the smallest impression upon him: alterations, in themselves innocuous, but to which abuses had clung, he rejected with the same decision and promptitude as the abuses themselves; he sought to restore the earliest forms in which the principle of Christianity had found an expression:—forms, it is true, no less than those he abolished, and not substance; but purer and more congenial.

Luther, notwithstanding his zeal against the pope, notwithstanding his aversion to the secular dominion of the hierarchy, was yet, both in doctrine and discipline, as far as it was possible, conservative, and attached to the historical traditions of the church; his thoughts and feelings were profound, and profoundly impressed with the

mysteries of religion. Zwingli was much more unsparing in rejection and in alteration; attentive to the practical business of life; remarkable for sobriety of mind and good sense.

Had Luther and his disciples stood alone, the principle of the reformation would probably have rapidly acquired stability; but it would perhaps as rapidly have lost its living, progressing power. It is difficult to imagine Zwingli as standing alone; but had views like his arisen without those of Luther, the chain of the historical development of the church would have been violently broken.

Thus it was decreed by divine Providence, if we may presume to say so, that these two systems should make their way together. They co-existed, each in its place; each the offspring of a sort of internal necessity; they belonged to each other, they completed each other.

But, from the time of the establishment of the inquisition — of the intolerant domination of a dogmatical system — so rigid an idea of orthodoxy had obtained in the world, that these two sections of the great party of reform, regardless of their common antagonist, attacked each other with furious zeal.

We shall frequently have occasion to recur to the various movements excited by this hostility. We must now trace the progress of Zwingli on his own ground — Zürich and Switzerland.

## DEFENCE. — PROPAGATION.

Although Zwingli had gone much farther than Luther, he was soon opposed by a still more extreme party: he had to contend with the anabaptists.

He was called upon to form a separate congregation of true believers, since they alone were the subjects of the promises. He replied, that it was impossible to bring heaven upon the earth; Christ had taught that we were to let the tares grow together with the wheat.\*

It was then demanded that he should at least invite the whole commune of Zürich to take part in the deliberations, and not content himself with the Grand Council, which consisted only of two hundred members. But Zwingli feared the influence of fanatical demagogues and pretenders to inspiration, on a larger assembly. He maintained that the commune was adequately represented, not only politically but ecclesiastically, in the Grand Council. The tacit assent of the commune he held to be a perfectly sufficient sanction of the decrees of the Grand Council. This, it was true, exercised the spiritual power, but under the condition that it did not offend against the rules laid down in the holy scriptures in the smallest particular; for that had been promised to the commune by its preachers. Zwingli adhered steadily

\* *Elenchus contra Catabaptistas.* Opp. iii. 362.

to the idea of the Commune, though he could not perfectly realize it; just as, in modern times, even in countries where the principle of the sovereignty of the people is fully admitted, the body of the people do not, in fact, take an active part in the government.

Zwingli was determined not to suffer the newly established order of things to be disturbed. In order to obtain some advantage from it, the oppositionists demanded the abolition of tithes, which, they said, rested on no divine authority whatever. Zwingli replied, that the tithes had either already passed into the hands of third parties by civil contract, or had been applied to the foundation of churches and schools.\* He did not, like Luther, take his stand intrepidly on the principle of the supremacy of the civil power; but he was equally resolved not to allow the political edifice which had just been constructed, to be shaken. He saw that the agitation must stop somewhere, unless every thing was to be called in question. He had reached a certain point, but he would not be drawn on one step further; and he had the general will, on which in a republic every thing depends, on his side.

At this juncture anabaptism also made its appearance in Zürich. The rite of the second baptism is only the symbol of that doctrine which requires perfect uniformity of opinion and genuine christianity as the basis of the Commune (congregation). A community founded on such ideas,

\* Füssli's Beiträge, i. 235.

however, will always apply to temporal the principle which governs spiritual affairs; and accordingly, we very soon find the anabaptists at variance with the constituted authorities. When summoned before the tribunals, they declared that they were not subject to any earthly power; that God was their only sovereign. They did not perhaps maintain in so many words, that no temporal authority ought to be endured; but they taught that a christian could not fulfil any temporal office, or draw the sword; so that, according to them, christianity did not recognise the temporal power. They represented a community of goods as that ideal of our condition on earth after which we ought to strive.\* As however notions of this kind had produced such fearful effects during the revolt of the peasants, and as the Zürich anabaptists (as Zwingli affirmed he positively knew) preached the doctrine, that it was lawful to kill, and necessary to kill priests; the whole force of the existing order of things, in concert with the preachers, rose up in arms to rid the territory of them. Some were banished, others fled; a few of the ringleaders were drowned without mercy.† The new consti-

\* Confessions and documents in Füssli's Beiträgen, i. 229. 249. 258. ii. 263.

† In Rodolphi Gualtheri Epistola ad Lectorem, prefixed to the second part of the Works, 1544., it is protested that Zwingli did not desire this. "Quod homines vāsani, non jam infideles modo, verum etiam seditiosi, reipublicæ turbatores, inagistratum hostes, justa senatus sententia damnati sunt, num id Zwinglio fraudi esse poterit?"

tution of the church was firmly established, without peril or injury to the institutions of the city or the state.

Meanwhile, in another quarter, a still more dangerous opposition had arisen out of political motives affecting the whole Confederation.

Zwingli had propagated his political, as well as his religious opinions in Zürich; he had combated the abuses of foreign enlistment and foreign pensions with complete success: the priests were compelled solemnly to forswear all pensions; and in the year 1521, Zürich alone, of all the cantons, refused to accept the French alliance. The disasters which this alliance brought in its train, were used by Zwingli, as means of gaining others over to his system. It is necessary to read "The Divine Warning," which he addressed after the battle of Bicocca, "To the oldest and right honest Confederates at Schwyz," in order to perceive the connexion which subsisted between his religious and his political labours. His persuasion was, that reason and piety were blinded by secret gifts from foreigners, and nothing but discord engendered. He urges his countrymen to lay aside selfish considerations. And if any one asked how this was possible, seeing that selfishness has its root in every human heart, he answered, that care must be taken that the word of God be taught clearly and intelligibly, and without any of the encumbrances of human wisdom. For so would God gain possession of the heart. "But where God is not in the heart of man, there is nothing but the

man himself, and he thinks of nothing but what ministers to his interests or his lusts." His political views, and indeed all his ideas, are pervaded by that higher morality, which is at the same time mysticism and religion. In Schwyz, where he had a number of personal friends, his address made such an impression, that on the 18th May 1522, the rural communes declined the French alliance, and admonished others to renounce it; "all those whom it had a right to admonish." It was quite to be expected that Schwyz, where Geroldseck and Zwingli and Leo Judä had so long had influence, would now follow the example of Zürich in religious affairs.

By this course, however, Zwingli necessarily created the most formidable enemies. The leading men in the communes, who received foreign pensions, and the hired captains who led the warlike youth into foreign service, constituted factions which were not disposed to let slip their advantages so easily;—oligarchies which, united, governed the popular assemblies. Zwingli himself discovered that a new nobility was as dangerous as the old one. And in fact these governing parties were powerful enough to induce the Schwyzers to revoke their resolution against foreign service. The influence of Hans Hug, Schultheiss of Lucerne, chiefly contributed to maintain the existing policy in the Wald cantons.\* At the

\* Zwingli's Complaint, Feb. 19. 1523. to Steiner. Epp. i. p. 275.



diet of 1523 a complaint was formally laid against Zwingli, and it inevitably followed that the hostility to his political opinions was reflected back on his religious exertions. Indeed it is impossible to deny that they were most intimately connected. His views on both subjects were simultaneous in their origin, and had thus far been prosecuted together. In the year 1524, the diet required the Zürichers to desist from their innovations. As they gave an evasive answer, the other cantons threatened that they would no longer sit with them in diet, and would send them back the briefs of confederation. Some dissentient opinions were indeed expressed at the diet, and occasionally prevailed. In the year 1525 a very remarkable resolution was passed, the purpose of which was to limit the spiritual jurisdiction\*, after the manner of the German diets. But those who were strongly attached to Rome would hear of no limitation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, in the main, this more orthodox opinion predominated. The prelates who, shortly before, had been in no little jeopardy, felt the ground once more firm under their feet: they formed the closest alliance with the oligarchs. At this point of our researches, we come upon the remarkable actions of John Faber, the Vicar-

\* E. g: the clergy shall retain what relates to affairs of marriage, or places of worship and sacraments, or errors of faith; but these too shall first be laid before the secular authorities, which shall refer them, only when they deem it necessary, to the spiritual judges. Articles in Bullinger, i. 203.

general of Constance, who at an earlier period had shared the literary tendencies of his High German contemporaries, and encouraged Zwingli to resist the sale of indulgencies. In 1521, however, he returned from Rome totally changed, and now devoted his life to the maintenance of the ancient faith. He laboured by every means to promote the alliance we have mentioned, and to render it effective. The conference at Baden in May 1526, at which Eck was also present, was the expression of the new understanding between the oligarchs and the spiritual power.\* With greater confidence, and with greater probability, than ever, the orthodox party maintained that the victory was on their side.

Yet this very conference turned out highly injurious to them.

Zwingli did not attend it, probably alarmed at the executions which had just taken place in the see of Constance; for example, that of Hans Hüglin: on the other hand, Bern and Basel sent two representatives of the new doctrines, Berthold Haller and Œcolampadius, who were not only far from conceding the victory to their opponents, but, on their return home, excited a patriotic interest in their cause in the minds of their fellow-citizens.† Bern and Basel also, on their

\* Zwingli to Vadian, i. 485. "Istud unum caveo, ne optima plebs Helvetica horum nebulonum, Fabri videlicet et Ecciorum, strophis committatur, id autem Oligarcharum perfidia." 3 Kal. Apr. 1526.

† As the song by Nicolas Manuel shews: "ain Lid in schilers

side, demanded their share in the publication of the acts of the conference, and would not quietly allow them to remain in the hands of the catholic majority. A misunderstanding had already arisen between those cities and the others, on the question of jurisdictions, and an entire division now seemed inevitable.

But a further political crisis was necessary to bring this to an open breach.

If the new doctrine, however, had made enemies by its connexion with politics, it had also secured friends. In all these cities a powerful democratic party in the grand councils, together with the body of the citizens, stood opposed to the oligarchies. As the latter adhered to the spiritual power, so the former inclined to reform. Two parties, opposed in politics and religion, were formed, and long was the victory doubtful. There is no question that the spirit of ecclesiastical reform, established so firmly and so continually gaining strength among the people, mainly contributed in the powerful canton of Bern to give the final ascendancy to the more democratical party. The troubles concerning the conference of Baden had the same result. At the new elections in the year 1527, a considerable number of the adherents of reform

Hofthon." Grüneisen, p. 409. "Egg zablet mit füßen und henden, fing an schelken und schenden, — er sprach ich blib by dem verstand, den Bäbst Cardinäl Bischof hand." "Egg strove with hand and foot, and began to scold and to abuse:— he said I hold to the understanding (opinion) that the pope, cardinals and bishops have."—He appears just the same in Baden as in Leipzig.

and adversaries of the oligarchs, entered the Grand Council. The first consequence of this was, that the Grand Council demanded the restitution of all its ancient rights. Twenty years long it had acquiesced in the lesser council being composed of Vennern and Sechzehnern\*: and it now resumed its inherent right to elect the members of the latter body.† After it had thus, agreeably to the constitution, united in itself the entire civic power, it proceeded to the discussion of religious affairs. The mandates commanding the people to hold fast to the ancient faith were revoked; a disputation was held, at which Zwingli was present, and which ended entirely in his favour. All his plans for Zürich were adopted in Bern. In the year 1528, the adherents of the old faith were turned out of both the councils. The commune was assembled in the church; man by man, — gentlemen, masters of trades, and workmen, all swore allegiance to the two councils.‡ The next question, as might be expected from the twofold character of the reform, was the system of foreign pensions, which had many advocates in Bern, even among the evangelical party. Not without a hot contest, and a second

\* Local titles of magistrates. The sixteen (Sechzehnern) still exist at Bern, though their functions are reduced to a shadow. —TRANS.

† “Ad viginti annos 4 Pandareti cum 16 e civibus senatum minorem elegerunt, ea conditione ut per eos delectos civium turma non haberet abjicere: nunc ablata est illis potestas et concio universa civium senatum deligit.” Letter from B. Haller to Vadian in Kirchhofer’s Berthold Vadian, p. 89.

‡ Stettler, ii. 6.

appeal to the opinion of the people in city and country, were the pensions refused (24th August), and notice of the same sent to the King of France.\*

The existing government of Basel stood its ground a little longer; it flattered itself that it would still be able to maintain the balance between the two confessions. Gradually, however, the evangelical communes became aware of their superiority; and at length, at a meeting of the people in January 1529, only eight hundred catholics were present, to three thousand reformers. In the following February, a violent commotion broke out. The first thing was to alter the constitution. The guilds resumed their ancient independence, and acquired the perpetual right of sending sixty of their members to the grand council. No one was to sit in the lesser council, who was not nominated by the greater; all the catholics left the lesser council.† Psalms and hymns in the German language were immediately sung in the churches; and on the 1st of April a form of divine service on the pattern of that of Zürich was published, breathing the religious earnestness and austere morality which

\* Bullinger, ii. 13. Haller calls it *pecunia sanguinaria*; Hofmeister speaks of *execrabile fœdus Gallicum*. Manuel too was one of those who attacked the pensions. Grüneisen, 109. Kirchhofer, 133.

† See Ochs, *Geschichte von Basel*, v. p. 626 f. The *diœcesium suffragio, cum diœcesiis disponenda* in *Æcolampadius*' Report with which Ochs (v. 653.) torments himself so much is doubtless *diacosion suffragio, cum diacosiiis*, by which word Zwingli, and also *Æcolampadius* (e. g. in his letter to Hess, p. 506.) usually denotes the Grand Council.

were among the chief internal causes of this revolution, and containing allusions to the suppression of wanton wars.

A code determining their relations was now agreed on by the three cities. This was in fact a treaty of alliance for the defence of the new order of things which they had established, and into which they contemplated the admission of all the confederate cantons, "when," as they express it, "they shall be so far instructed in the word of God."

Of this event, indeed, there seemed to be a considerable probability. In Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons, the reforming party was very active; in Schaffhausen the council incessantly vacillated between the opposite tendencies\*; in St. Gall the victory was already decided. In the year 1528, after a change of the council of that city, the catholic ceremonies were discontinued, and articles of a radical reformation promulgated.† The same took place in Mühlhausen, where the secretary of the city, Gamshorst, one of the statesmen who had taken an active part in the internal affairs of the Confederation and in its relations to the pope and the emperor, encouraged the movement by his well-founded authority. In the year 1528 and 1529, St. Gall, Biel, and Mühlhausen, (the latter

\* This undecided state of opinion appears clearly in the individual case of Hans Stockar, whose journal was published in 1839.

† Arx, *Geschichte von St. Gallen*, ii. 529., cursory as to the main point, circumstantial in the collateral and spiteful details.

not without some difficulty, and only in consequence of the especial interposition of Bern,) were received into the christian civic alliance.\*

These changes, great and important as they were, originated in a single profound thought, embracing political and religious objects. Zwingli had resolved to purify at once the church and his country from the most pernicious abuses of both kinds. He could not have accomplished the ecclesiastical reform without the political, nor the political without the ecclesiastical. Nothing short of the concurrent progress of both would have realized his original conception. We shall see hereafter how far he was successful.

Germany was chiefly affected by his view of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Butzer, and Capito, the reformers of Strasburg, had taken part in the conference at Bern, and had long been zealous advocates for Zwingli's system. Lindau and Memmingen soon followed Strasburg. The same doctrine was preached by Somius in Ulm, Cellarius in Augsburg, Blaurer in Constance, Hermann in Reutlingen, and by many others in the towns of that part of Germany. In some indeed, the project of attaching themselves by close and indissoluble ties to the evangelical towns of the Swiss Confederation was talked of. And this took place at the very moment when an evangelical church, organized according to Luther's views, arose in so many parts of eastern Germany.

The antagonism which thus arose between the

\* Bullinger, Reformationsgeschichte, ii. p. 46.



opinions and the new-born institutions of eastern and western Germany was undoubtedly a great misfortune. The polemical writings of that period filled all minds with mutual antipathy.

But this reflection is by no means the only one which the course of events is calculated to excite. The antagonism in question arose not merely from a different apprehension of a dogma; it lay in the very origin of the movement on either side; in the political and ecclesiastical condition from which each party had to emancipate itself. Whether, as to dogma, an explanation satisfactory to both parties might not still be discovered, was as yet uncertain. But that reform in Switzerland originated in causes and in sentiments native and peculiar to the country, that it struck root in its own soil, and assumed a form and growth of its own, was unquestionably fortunate for the world at large; since it gave to the general principle of the reformation fresh vigour and stability.

## CHAPTER IV.

## POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE YEAR 1529.

THE situation of the world was at that time as follows.

The great political relations between East and West, upon which, during the middle ages, every thing had depended, were unsettled. The puissant prince in whom the warlike power of the East centered, was once more meditating an attack upon Christendom, from which he was justified in anticipating success as complete as that which had attended his former enterprises: it was not likely that the very feeble preparations for resistance which had since then been made by the German powers in Hungary, would have the effect of arresting his course. A conflict of the German forces by land and the Roman by sea, with those of the Ottoman, seemed imminent.

But Christendom itself was torn with divisions.

Peace was not yet restored between its two highest potentates. The emperor had even entertained the thought of stripping the pope of all his temporal authority; while, on the other hand, the emperor's adversaries had conceived a plan for deposing him, with the aid of the pope. These projects were not yet entirely abandoned.

Nor was the military superiority of the two great powers which had so long stood confronted in arms, more decided. From year to year the fortunes of the house of Austria had been in the ascendant; yet France scorned to acquiesce in the loss of the predominant consideration she had long enjoyed, or to renounce her possessions in Italy.

To this conflict of political interests was now added that of religious opinions; at this moment less noisy, but pregnant with far more weighty consequences. The authority of the Roman Church, which had ruled the West for so many centuries, now encountered an opposition, to which it appeared likely to succumb. Enemies had frequently arisen; but never before did they manifest a religious sentiment at once so energetic and so firm; never had their efforts been so intimately connected with the general intellectual life, and the progress of civilisation throughout Europe; and accordingly, never had their opinions been propagated with such rapidity and vigour.

It had happened, moreover, that the schemes of reform had taken two perfectly different, and even opposite directions. The one system attached itself as closely as possible to the existing doctrine of the church, and to the established forms of the state. The other was, from the first, blended with projects of radical political changes, and assumed as its end the restoration of the primitive state of Christendom. And they were directly opposed in their views of the most important dogma.

These were not disputes about this or that mea-

sure to be taken for the future, or about this or that interest already vested; they were contests concerning the interests and affairs of the deepest importance to mankind at large; the relations of the East and the West; of the empire and the papacy; of the two preponderant powers of Europe to each other: a contest on the one side for the permanency of the hierarchical powers, and on the other for the introduction of new ecclesiastical forms; and, even with regard to the latter, a contest between those who advocated the preservation of all that it was possible to preserve, and those who desired radical and sweeping changes.

As it is clear, however, that all these antagonisms, however they might affect the world at large, chiefly concerned the German nation, and came into collision on the German soil (for Germany had immediately to fight out the battle with the Ottomans on the continent, to maintain its supremacy in Italy, and to bring the religious quarrels to a decision or to a compromise), the whole course of affairs depended on the attitude which the emperor might assume in the general shock and conflict of these various movements.

Hitherto the fluctuating nature of events had forced him upon political measures not always consistent with one another; but now that the time for decision was at hand, it was absolutely necessary to adopt a system, and to carry it through.

The wish of the German people was, as we have already remarked, that the emperor would place

himself at the head of the resistance to the hierarchy, and, supported by all the energy of the nation, assert the rights of the empire, of whatever kind, and drive back the barbarians beyond the Danube. It seems hardly possible that the emperor's inclinations should not have gone with this policy. Had he not, from the moment of his accession, spoken of a reformation of the church, and had he not of late frequently repeated the same word? Was not the most violent and dangerous jealousy of his house to be found in those German princes who had espoused the cause of the hierarchy? It would seem that he must necessarily have regarded an alliance with the popular tendencies (on whose irresistible progress all his letters from Germany dwelt) as a means of increasing his power.

But a man placed in the midst of the conflict of opposing powers and influences of such magnitude, is seldom able to come to a perfectly free, deliberate and unbiassed decision. I do not believe that Charles V. ever so much as asked himself the question, which side he ought to espouse. The German nation was not destined to attain to its further development under the guidance of a common head. Charles V. found himself compelled by his personal situation, and by the previous course of events, to adopt a policy contrary to its wishes.

Recent experience had proved that an attempt to carry on a further contest with the pope would involve him in perplexities of which it was impossible to foresee the end. In the presence of this

urgent necessity, therefore, he had resolved not only upon a more conciliatory demeanour, but on an alliance with Rome.

It is remarkable how all his foreign relations conspired to confirm him in this resolution.

We have already observed that the honour of his house utterly forbade him to listen to the doubt, whether the Court of Rome was warranted in granting Henry VIII. the dispensation for his marriage, which that monarch now declared to be null.

In the northern states, the enemies who had driven his brother-in-law Christiern into exile, manifested a strong leaning to the German notions of reform, which indeed had nearly become predominant in Sweden. The emperor could only restore his brother-in-law to the throne, and re-establish the influence of the house of Austria in the north, by an union with the various parties still attached to catholicism.

Yet further; the alliances which the reformed towns of Switzerland contracted with their co-religionists and neighbours of North Germany, caused the catholic cantons to seek a support in the house of Austria: they forgot their hereditary enmity to it, and in the early part of the year 1529 concluded a formal treaty with King Ferdinand.

In the quarrel with the Woiwode and his adherents in Hungary also, it was very important to the success of Charles's cause that the church should acknowledge his rights.

And if the emperor cast his eyes over the German empire, he could not fail to see that his authority

had most to gain from an union with the spiritual princes. We may remember how anxious Maximilian was to fill the episcopal sees with men devoted to his interests, and to gain over the body of the clergy. This became a far easier task, as soon as the bishops, whose spiritual privileges were menaced by the current ideas of the age, looked for protection to the imperial power. Considering the weight which the hierarchical ingredient in the constitution of the Germanic empire still possessed, it was, indeed, no slight advantage to have it as an ally. I have no documentary evidence to prove that these considerations presented themselves to Charles V.; but they are certainly too obvious to have escaped him. We all know that, at a later epoch, the dissolution of the spiritual principalities was the signal for the overthrow of the imperial throne. Something similar might have taken place then, however little it might be contemplated. The imperial authority had not firm root enough to sustain itself among merely temporal powers, even had they not been all hereditary; or if it did sustain itself, it could only be by vast and continued efforts; it was infinitely easier to turn the long-established institutions to account. Zwingli once said truly enough, that the empire and the papacy were so closely interwoven, that it was impossible to make war upon the one without attacking the other.

The result of all these circumstances was, that the emperor's policy was totally different from that which would have been agreeable to the German



nation. He meditated a reconciliation with the pope; the exaltation of the imperial power, but solely on the established hierarchical basis; resistance to the Ottomans, but entirely in the usual spirit of Latin Christendom: he had no sympathy with the German ideas of church reform, — on the contrary, they were utterly distasteful to him, and we shall see that he determined to extinguish them.

This is mainly to be ascribed to the fact, that he was not only emperor of Germany, but king of Spain. He had passed the important years of adolescence, in which a man enters definitively upon the path which he pursues through life, in Spain, and had imbibed the opinions prevalent in that country on some essential points.

Catholicism — which, had it really become a lifeless, unmeaning form, must unquestionably have perished in the storms of this century — had deep and living roots in the Roman part of Europe, and especially in Spain.

In Spain, the State, such as it existed in the middle ages, — the State, in which the attributes of the monarchy and the priesthood were combined, — was still in full vigour and activity.

The conflict with Islam, which had so materially contributed to the development of this form of Church and State, was here still going on; the government was constantly employed in christianizing the country, and no acts of violence tending to that end excited either reprobation or remorse. In the year 1524, Charles got a dispensation from

the oath which bound him to tolerate the Moriscos of the crown of Aragon.\* The victory of Pavia had inspired him with redoubled fervour; he once used the remarkable expression, that since God had delivered his enemies into his hands, he was bound to convert God's enemies†; and he immediately set about this work in Valencia, where the Christian population was as yet in a minority; the Christian families being estimated at 22,000, and the Moorish at 26,000. A sort of crusade was set on foot against the latter; and at last the Germans, who had followed the emperor into Spain, were forced to march against the Moors of the Sierra Espadan. Hereupon the mosques were transformed into churches, and tithes were collected for the benefit of the twofold hierarchy. Of all the thousands who were baptized, says Sandoval, there were not six whose inclinations were changed; but woe to him who did not prostrate himself at the sight of the host! The most rigorous inquisition watched over every outward demonstration.

This might indeed be necessary. Even in 1528, a man was discovered among the Moors of Valencia whom they secretly regarded as their king.‡ His

\* Pope's Brief of the 12th March, 1524. Llorente, i. 427.

† Sandoval, i. 673., who is here generally our authority.

‡ "Uno que se dize rey encubierto, que es nombre de baxa suerte, —publican, que eran muchos con el que estaban determinados depassando el emperador de matar a la reyna Germana y el duque de Calavria su marido e levantarse por rey esto dicho rey encubierto.—Han fecho morir ata 50 hombres que se dezia ser de su lignage y tienen presos mas de ata ciento." Ad-

design seems to have been to make a rising on the first absence of the emperor. He was put to death together with his whole tribe.

The colonisation of America was carried on in the same spirit. The great discoverer, on his return to Seville, was seen to take part in a procession, habited in the dress of a franciscan. Columbus thought himself destined to propagate the christian faith in the country of the Great Khan, which he believed he had discovered. He continually expressed his hope of being the instrument of procuring to the crown the means of re-conquering the Holy Sepulchre.\* And we may remark in all his successors, curiously mingled with the desire to be rich, powerful, and glorious, the most ardent zeal for the extension of the religion of Rome.† For the crown, this was a sort of necessity, since it deduced all its rights from the Roman See; such was the official doctrine which it proclaimed to the Indians. It transferred the entire form and character of the Latin Church, only if possible yet more gorgeous and magnificent, to the new world.

It must not, however, be understood that all men were imbued with these sentiments. It is

vertimiento de la Corte del Emperador, Bib. du Roi, Paris. Bethune's Collection, 8531. f. 110.

\* Humboldt, iii. 260.

† Prescott, History of Ferdinand and Isabella, iii. 418., quotes a very remarkable passage from Gonzalo di Oviedo: "Who can doubt that powder against the infidels is incense to the Lord?"

a remarkable fact, for example, that Cortez did not approve the importation of the complete hierarchy into America; he would have no bishops, only an active lower clergy and zealous monks; and occupied himself in devising means for dispensing with episcopal ordination.\* But so strong was the attachment to the whole mass of established usages, that even he, the conqueror and law-giver, could make no effectual resistance to it.

Spain was, indeed, not so secluded from the rest of Europe, that the innovating spirit and tendencies of the current literature had not penetrated there. Antonio de Lebrixa, for example, deserves to be placed in the same class with Erasmus and Reuchlin. He, too, devoted his labours to the sacred writings, and published a work under the title, “A Hundred and Fifty Passages of the Holy Scriptures, translated in an improved manner.”† But the Dominican Inquisition, which Germany would not endure within its bosom, ruled in Spain with absolute sway. The grand inquisitor, Diego Deza, bishop of Palencia, robbed the learned author of the greater part of his book, and did not attempt to conceal that his intention in doing so was to restrain him from publishing any thing in future on that subject. Indeed it is asserted that this bishop would, if he could, have extirpated the original language of the sacred books.‡ Deza’s successor, Ximenes, was,

\* Report of Cortez, 15th October, 1524, by Koppe, p. 487.

† *Quinquagenæ tres locorum sacræ scripturæ non vulgariter enarratorum.*

‡ “ Bonus ille præsul in tota quæstione sua nihil magis labora-

as is well known, far from sharing these narrow views; he felt that depth and force of the original which no translation can adequately convey, and ordered the text to be published in his polyglot. But he estimated the received version of the Latin church, the vulgate, far beyond its value. He compared the Greek and Hebrew texts, between which the Latin was printed, to the thieves on the right hand and the left of the Saviour.\* It is an indisputable fact, that he altered the words of the Septuagint, and even the Greek text of the New Testament, in accordance with the vulgate; and adopted a passage of great importance as dogmatic evidence, which is found in none of the manuscripts, merely in deference to that translation.† In short, the slightest deviation from the esta-

bat, quam ut duarum linguarum, ex quibus religio nostra pendet, neque ullum vestigium relinqueretur, per quod ad dignoscendam in rebus dubiis certitudinem pervenire possemus." (*Apolo-  
logia pro se ipso*. Nic. Antonii *Bibl. Hisp. Nova*, i. p. 138.)

\* Prologus ad lectorem. Medium autem inter has (the Hebrew and Greek texts) Latinam beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter synagogam et orientalem ecclesiam posuimus: duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, h. e. Romanam sive Latinam ecclesiam, collocantes.

† Semler's *Accurate Examination of the bad Execution of the Greek New Testament*, printed at Alcala, 1766. They omitted the Doxology in the 6th Chapter of St. Matthew, which though Chrysostom had adopted that reading, they maintained had, even in his time, been interpolated ex corruptis originalibus (p. 117.). The passage in question is, as is well known, St John i. 5—7. In this they adopted the criticism of St. Thomas. Salmeron too says, videtur plus fidei tribuendum Latinis codicibus quam Græcis.

blished system of the Latin church would not have been tolerated. It is a very remarkable fact, that at the epoch we are treating of, the school philosophy rose into consideration in Spain just as it declined throughout the rest of Europe. In the university of Salamanca, Alfonso of Cordova proclaimed the nominalist, and, at the same moment, Francisco of Vittoria, the realist, doctrines, as something new and for the first time to be disseminated in the country; they wished to render it unnecessary for Spaniards to resort to the schools of Paris. Francisco of Vittoria had the greatest following; he gave a new development to the moral philosophy of the schools. Bellarmine called him the happy father of excellent masters; and, indeed, the most eminent Spanish theologians issued from his school.\* As another proof of the unaltered state of the public mind in Spain, we may mention, that a great part of the "Romancero general" owed its origin to the sixteenth century. The spirit of the ages of priestly dominion still bore exclusive sway in the polity and literature of the country.

The natural consequence of this state of public opinion was, an intense hostility to the aberrations, as they were deemed, of the rest of the world. Not only were the ordinances against Luther's heresy executed with the utmost rigour, but even Erasmus, spite of the favour he enjoyed at court, found no mercy from monkish pedantry. Diego Lopez Zuniga, a man familiar with both languages,

\* Nic. Antonii Bibliotheca Hisp. N. I. s. v. Franciscus.

made it the main object of his life to oppose the innovations of the witty and learned Dutchman.\* During the Lent of 1527, certain dominicans formally accused Erasmus,—or rather his writings, for luckily he was out of their reach — of heresy, to the inquisition. A tribunal was appointed; and although its members could not immediately come to any unanimous decision, the inquisition thought itself justified in prohibiting the “Colloquies,” the “Praise of Folly,” and the “Paraphrase of the New Testament.”†

In every country there prevails a moral atmosphere, from which there is no escape; and we perceive that it was impossible for the young emperor, surrounded by such influences as these, to acquire energy and independence of mind.

The archives at Brussels contain a Spanish criticism of Luther and Æcolampadius, written in the spirit of the church, and presented to the emperor, to fortify him against the influences of the new opinions.‡ In this, the full right of the church to impose the punishment due to a mortal sin is

\* He too maintained the superiority of the vulgate. “*Sciendum est*,” says he of John i. 5—7. “*Græcorum codices apertissime esse corruptos, nostros vero veritatem ipsam continere.*” Nevertheless in this very passage the vulgate is interpolated. See Griesbach, App. 12:

† Llorente, i. 459. *Erasmi Epistolæ*, 989. 1032. He mentions Pedro di Vittoria especially as his antagonist.

‡ *Siguense los errores de Luther y Colampadio su discipulo con la determinacion de l'glesia.* The several articles were discussed in succession: e. g. Art. 3. as above; Art. 6. Santo es y justo commendarnos a los santos y adorar sus imagines. 7. La



insisted upon; otherwise, it is urged, every man would follow only his own inclination. The disputed articles of faith are then defended in all their rigour; marriage, confirmation, consecration, extreme unction, are maintained to be sacraments, instituted by Christ himself. In conclusion, it is proved that the proper punishment for heretics is burning.

These opinions did not obtain such a complete ascendancy over the emperor's mind as to lead him to an abject submission to the papacy; or to stifle his projects of purifying the church from its abuses, and of undertaking the work of its reformation himself; but it is unquestionable that his residence in Spain contributed to confirm him in views of policy with which the exclusive domination of the Latin church is intimately connected. It strengthened his antipathy to the unauthorised innovations of individual teachers or bodies. We shall soon witness the effects of these sentiments.

The very first instructions he gave the imperial ambassadors who were sent to the captive pope, contain expressions concerning the necessity of extirpating the erring sect of the Lutherans.\* In consequence of this the pope, in the treaty of the 26th of November, 1527, promises a council, "whereby the Church may once more be set right, and the lutheran sect be rooted out." In the

*iglesia puede lícitamente tener patrimonio y poseer bienes temporales. 8. Justa pena es por los hereges, que seen quemados.*

\* Bucholtz, iii. 99.

spring of 1528, the imperial vice-chancellor, provost Walldkirchen, repaired to Germany, with a view to revive the catholic spirit. As he travelled from town to town, and from one prince's court to another, it was universally believed that his intention was to form a league against the evangelical party.\* The exhortations of the pope to that effect grew more and more earnest and vehement. We possess a letter of Sanga's, dated October, 1528, in which he tells the nuncio at the imperial court, to press the emperor in the most urgent manner to devote himself more than heretofore to the affairs of religion: already, he said, there were people who went further than Luther; already they denied the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and infant baptism:—what would posterity say, when it read that, under the greatest emperor who had governed it for centuries, Germany swarmed with heresies?†

Of the emperor's antipathy to them there could be no doubt. The executions which took place in the Netherlands, where he was absolute master, afforded sufficient proof of it. Erasmus, who knew him well, was persuaded that he would not think himself emperor, if he did not succeed in suppressing Lutheranism.‡

And at this juncture events occurred which

\* Stetten, p. 308. Von der Lith, p. 217.

† Lettere di diversi, 56.

‡ Erasmi Epp. p. 963. In *Hollandia mire fervet carnificina*. This sounds very differently from the remark of Le Clay, *Correspondance de Maximilien et Marguerite*, ii. p. 449. in justification of Margaret.

rendered it probable that he would acquire the power of doing so.

We saw how warlike and menacing was the aspect of things, even so late as the beginning of the year 1529; but the emperor's good fortune frustrated the schemes, and broke the spirit, of his enemies.

The Venetians and the French still cherished the idea of conquering Milan; in the spring of 1529 they marched again from both sides on that capital; they reckoned on the exhaustion and the discontent of the citizens, and the small number of the troops, and were resolved on an immediate attack.

It soon became evident what Milan had lost in losing Genoa. By the possession of that city, the emperor gained the advantage of being less exclusively dependent on German auxiliaries than heretofore. He was now enabled to send a few thousand men from Spain to Genoa, whence they afterwards pushed on to Milan, which the enemy were not sufficiently masters of the field to prevent. They were troops of the very worst appearance, — barefoot, half-naked, squalid, and starved. But to the emperor they were invaluable. Such as they were, they were most cordially received by his commander-in-chief, Antonio Leiva. Leiva had hitherto carried on his defence chiefly by the aid of Germans; in September, 1528, he numbered 5000 of that nation, and only 800 Spaniards\*; it may easily be imagined how welcome was this reinforce-

\* Letter from Leiva to the emperor. Sandoval, ii. 19.

ment of his own countrymen, whose bravery would, he knew, be sharpened by their necessities.

The allies immediately perceived that they were not strong enough to make a serious attack on the city. They therefore determined to surround it at some distance, and to cut off its supplies. St. Pol even indulged a hope of making some successful attempt upon Genoa, and quitted Milan with that view.

But he thus gave his foes an opportunity of striking a great blow, such as the Spaniards had often struck with success. Leiva's troops moved forward in the night, without drums or trumpets, and with shirts over their armour: he himself, though suffering from the gout, would not stay behind; fully armed and accoutered, even to the waving plume upon his helmet, he caused himself to be carried on a litter to the field. Just as the French were breaking up their camp near Landriano,—at the moment when St. Pol was giving orders to pull down a house, the beams of which he wanted to force a piece of artillery out of the mud\*, they were surprised by Leiva, who gained a complete victory, and led back St. Pol and the chief officers of his army, prisoners to Milan.

\* The morning of the 27th of June: in sul passar dell' Ambra. Barchi, 214. According to Leoni the loss was caused by St. Pol disregarding the advice of the Duke of Urbino, to send on the artillery in front and to divide his other troops into two columns, the one of which was to support the other. Vita di Francesco Maria, 414.

This victory rendered the emperor as completely master in Lombardy as he already was in Naples. A fresh attack upon his forces would have required new and mighty efforts, which no one felt able or disposed to make.

Indeed such a course was the less to be thought of, since the long-pending negotiations with the pope were brought to a conclusion, exactly at the moment of this decisive affair in the Milanese territory.

The proposals made to the pope were, as we have remarked, of the most advantageous nature, both as regarded German and Italian affairs, the supreme direction of which was to be in his hands: the emperor promised to follow his advice in every respect; to restore to him the lands belonging to the church; to conclude a general peace with his mediation; and made many other flattering concessions. But we are not to imagine that Clement was influenced by these alone. The proximate and determining motive was fear. In April, 1529, he complained to Cardinal Triulzio of the eagerness with which he was urged to conclude the treaty by the imperial agents: he declared that he would never accede to it, were he but strong enough to resist; but, he added, he was surrounded on all sides by adherents of the emperor, and might at any moment be exposed to some fresh disaster,—he was still, in fact, no better than a prisoner; he saw no difference, except perhaps, that before, he could not run away, and that now he could certainly do that: in fact, he must either

escape and abandon the states of the church to the enemy, or make the least disadvantageous terms with them he could. He expressed all this with so much energy, that he completely convinced the cardinal. "I know not," says Triulzio, "what the holy father will determine upon. But if he consents to sign the treaty, I see that it will be only because he is forced, and dragged into it by the hair of the head."\*

I will not take upon myself to maintain that this feeling exclusively possessed the pope during the whole of these negotiations;—he well knew that Cardinal Triulzio, to whom he said all this, was a partisan of France:—but he was not so thorough a dissembler as to feign it altogether, and it is probable that though generally suppressed, it was occasionally beyond his control.

He was likewise influenced by considerations of his own personal interest. His connexion with the emperor afforded him the only prospect of becoming master of his enemies in his native city of Florence.

For a time he had entertained the hope of attaining to this most cherished wish of his heart by peaceful means, and with that view he kept up a certain degree of intercourse, not direct indeed, but through friends, with the Gonfaloniere Capponi. It seemed not improbable that the Medicean and the republican parties would severally

\* Lettera del Cardinale Triulzio a M. Hieronymo, Roma, 9 Apr. 1529. Bibliothèque du roi, MS. Bethune.

moderate their claims, and come to a peaceable compromise.

But at this very juncture, a contrary movement took place in Florence. A violent republican party, which, in spite of the entire change of circumstances, would not give up the persuasion that it could maintain itself as firmly as formerly, accused the Gonfaloniere of these connexions and designs as crimes, and effected his deposition (April, 1529); though he was afterwards acquitted of all real delinquency. From that time all posts were exclusively filled by the most violent enemies of the Medici; the pope was spoken of with hatred and contempt, and a reconciliation with him was out of the question. Clement VII. fell into a rage whenever he thought of the affairs of Florence. Among other things, the story of his illegitimate birth was brought up again; he was declared to have been disqualified from ascending the papal throne, and even the title of pope was denied him.\* The English ambassador found him one day in a state of great exasperation. Clement said he would rather be chaplain, nay groom, to the emperor, than allow himself to be insulted by his own disobedient subjects.† To the feeling of the impossibility of throwing off the yoke imposed upon him, were united revenge and ambition, which he could satisfy in no other way than by submitting to it.

On the 29th of June, a treaty of peace was concluded at Barcelona, between the emperor and the

\* Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, 208. Jovius, *Historiæ*, 27. 45.

† Casalis in Herbert, 233.



pope; which was chiefly remarkable for the pope's acquiescence in the emperor's domination in Italy, against which he had so vehemently struggled. He renewed the infeudation for the crown of Naples, and remitted the tribute which had always been paid for it, retaining only the gift of the sumpter horse. He no longer positively insisted on the maintenance of the Sforzas in Milan, but consented that their guilt or innocence should be decided by a regular tribunal; he was satisfied with the emperor's declaration that he would take no steps as to the new investiture of the duchy without the pope's consent. He granted the imperial troops free passage through his territory, from Naples to Tuscany or Lombardy. On the other hand, the emperor promised to restore to the see of Rome possession of the countries wrested from it by Venice and Ferrara (but with express reservation of the rights of the empire), and to reinstate the Medicean family on the ducal throne of Florence.\* The emperor formed the most intimate alliance with that house. He promised the hand of his natural daughter to the young Alessandro de' Medici, on whom the lordship of Florence was to devolve. For so greatly had things altered, that it was now the emperor's turn to protect the pope against the immediate influence of the Ligue. Now, as in the year 1521, the emperor formed an alliance with a pope of the house of

\* *Tractatus Confœderationis inter Carolum V. Imperatorem Romanorum — et Clementem, VII. Romanum Pontificem conclusus.* Du Mont, iv. ii. 1.

Medici. But how vast was the difference! Leo X. might have reasonably entertained a hope of becoming master of Milan and Genoa, and of conquering Ferrara. Clement VII. was fain to content himself with receiving back the States of the Church from foreign hands, and reconquering his native city by foreign aid.

To this arrangement of Italian affairs other stipulations were appended, though they were not all included in the treaty.

John Zapolya, who had hitherto enjoyed the favour of the apostolic see, was now abandoned by it, and shortly afterwards visited with the most rigorous ecclesiastical censures.\* In respect of English affairs, Ferdinand's ambassador united his entreaties to those of the imperial envoys. The trial had already begun there, in virtue of the commission already issued; but the pope pledged his word to both brothers that no sentence should be pronounced. They, in return, promised him in the most solemn manner, their assistance in matters of religion. In the treaty of Barcelona the emperor declares, that he has it at heart to find an antidote to the poisonous infection of the new opinions.† If, however, it should be found impossible to bring back the minds of the erring by mild measures; if

\* Katona, xx. i. 551. Zapolya's Complaint respecting the Bull, from which he saw, "*S. Sanctitatem—me et incolas regni per censuras ecclesiasticas devovisse et a capite nostro Jesu Christo, quod in ea erat, resectos declarasse.*"

† Cum Cæsareæ Majestati cordi sit, ut huic pestifero morbo congruum antidotum præparari possit.

they should refuse to hear the voice of the shepherd, and remain stiff-necked in their errors; "then," continues this document, "both the emperor and the king of Hungary and Bohemia would set all their forces in motion, and avenge the wrong offered to Christ with their utmost power."

Such was the unexpected turn which events took. The emperor was chiefly indebted for his victory to the sympathy in his cause, produced in the German nation by Lutheran opinions: it was only by means of the power which this gave him that he forced the pope to make peace. Yet in the very treaty which he concluded with the pope, he promised him the extirpation of these very Lutheran opinions.

These events, as the pope had foreseen, rendered it impossible for Francis I. to avoid entertaining serious thoughts of peace, however unpalatable they were to him.

In the negotiations of the year 1527, the emperor had no longer demanded the restitution of his hereditary dominions so absolutely as before; he had shown a disposition to accept two millions of scudi as an equivalent. But the whole negotiation had been rendered abortive by the king's refusal to give up Milan and Genoa, or to withdraw his troops out of Italy.\* It appeared as if the French regarded the re-conquest of Milan as a point of duty and of honour. Chancellor du Prat declared

\* Ce qui a été dit en la communication tenue à Palencia, in du Mont, iv. i. 502.

that he should never cease to feel the shame and dishonour that had fallen upon him by the loss of that country to the crown of France, during his administration; could he but recover it for his sovereign, he would be content to die the next hour.\*

Nevertheless, the necessity of acquiescing in this loss had arrived.

In the first place, a continuance of the war no longer offered any prospect of success. Even the king's partisans in Italy reminded him that it would be impossible to put an army into the field before the emperor appeared in Italy; that Charles's alliance with the pope would make him master in Upper as well as in Lower Italy; Florence would not be able to resist him; Venice was herself in danger from the defection of Mantua, and could think of nothing but her own safety: he would have to contend single-handed against the emperor, who had the bravest troops in the world, and the favour of fortune.†

\* Bellay, 13 Juill. 1529. MS. Maitre de Barre tells him that the expressions which had come to the knowledge of Margaret, and also of the Emperor, prevented the peace. They were these: "puisque le roi avoit perdu Milan estant luy en administration des affaires, il aimeroit mieux la mort que de faillir à le luy faire recouvrer: cela fait il étoit content de mourir une heure après."

† Ottaviano Sforza al vescovo di Lodi: Molini, ii. 210. Bgl. Instruzione di Teodoro Triulzio, Guido Rangoni et Joachim a Mess. Mauro da Nova, Venezia, 15 Luglio, in Molini, ii. 219. "In effecto quest' impresa de tanta extrema importantia si deve extimare, quanta possa essere da l' onore al disonore o per meglio dirlo dal vivere al morire de la prima corona, re et regno di Christianità.

The kingdom and the court, it was also urged, could no longer suffer the French princes to remain captives in Spain, whence occasionally unsatisfactory reports of their health arrived.

Thus, therefore, while preparations for war were going on, while hopes of the king's arrival in person were held forth to the Italians, and an invasion of Germany was projected; the negotiations for peace, which had never been definitively broken off, were resumed with fresh earnestness.

It was long reported in Rome that the pope was to undertake the task of mediation\*, and that he was to conduct affairs in person at some place on the frontiers of France and Spain; for example, Perpignan. To this he seemed well inclined; even in March, 1529, the galleys that were to transport him were still pointed out. In the end, however, all this was given up, and the matter fell into totally different hands.

At a considerably earlier period we find a secret emissary of Francis I. in Spain, through whom, addressing himself immediately to his betrothed bride, Queen Leonora, he expressed his wishes that all obstacles to their union might be removed as quickly as possible, and placed all his affairs with the emperor in her hands. The queen was, as may be imagined, delighted at this message; she declared that she had always relied on the king's good inten-

\* Hieronymus Niger to Sadolet, v. Cal. April, 1529. "*Quotidie in ore habet (pontifex) divinum consilium suum de perfectione ad Cæsarem et de pace publica, quo quidem consilio si integris rebus usus fuisset, non laboraremus.*" Sadoleti Epp. lib. viii. p. 323.

tions, and had therefore overlooked all that had passed. As the envoy refused to treat with the Grand Chancellor on the ground that he was a lover of war, — perhaps because his consideration at court was increased by keeping those eminent men whom war would have rendered necessary, at a distance from it, — Queen Leonora declared that the negotiation was now her business, and that she would bring it to a conclusion alone.\*

I cannot ascertain precisely the date of this mission. Suffice it to observe, that it was an attempt to withdraw the negotiations from the usual channel, and the regular mode of proceeding.

Duchess Louisa next addressed herself to the emperor's aunt, the Governess of the Netherlands. Her motives were doubtless chiefly personal; for while her grandsons were prisoners, she could not endure the thought of the fresh campaign which she saw that her son must almost inevitably undertake. She represented to Margaret that it more especially devolved on them, the two oldest female relatives of the contending princes, to endeavour

\* Déchiffrement d'une depesche écrite d'Espagne, Bibl. du R. MS. Bethune, 8543, f. 182. without date, place or signature. Perhaps of the year 1527., at all events, of the time during which the French princes were in prison. "Elle me demanda, si vous vouliez mettre en sa main l'affaire d'entre vous et l'empereur; je luy ai dit que pour cet effet m'aviez depesché vers elle.— Elle m'a dit, que la fiance qu'elle avoit toujours eu en votre bonne volonté envers elle, l'avoit tenue en bonne esperance et lui avoit fait porter patiemment tout ce qui avoit passé. Qu'elle vouloit mener cette affaire et que autre ne se meslat qu'elle, et c'estoit son propre fait."



to effect a reconciliation between them.\* Margaret too was of opinion, that the animosity between the two monarchs had been raised to such a pitch by long-protracted hostilities, by the letters and documents that had been interchanged, and by the challenges that had been sent, that women alone could succeed in bringing about an accommodation.† The emperor still thought himself bound in honour to insist on the execution of the treaty of Madrid; he wondered not a little that Margaret, entirely contrary to her former character and habits, listened to the flattering language of the duchess.‡ It was no easy task for her to change his dispositions, and indeed she afterwards took credit for its accomplishment. At last, on the 8th of April, she received the fullest authority to negotiate that it was possible to imagine.§ Charles V. promised, on the word of an emperor, on his honour, and under pain of forfeiting his private domains, to ratify any terms which she might conclude. It was easier for Francis I. to grant full powers. Among the reasons why it was expedient that not the king, but his mother, should conduct the nego-

\* Teneur du pouvoir, donné à l'archiduchesse. DM. iv. 2. 15.

† Her own expressions—Hormayr, Archiv. 1810, p. 108.

‡ Charles V. to the Sieur de Montfort, 16 Mars. Pap. d'état de Granvelle, i. 450. Search ought to be made for Margaret's letter which brought the matter to a conclusion, and which must have been written about this time.

§ As "Procuratrix générale et especialle avec plein pouvoir auctorité et mandement especiall pour et en nom de nous pour parler — et finalement traiter et conclure bonne ferme secure paix amitié ligue et confédération."



tiations, one of the principal was, that she had not, like him, personally contracted engagements with the Italian powers, Milan, Florence, or Venice.

On the 5th July the two ladies entered Cambray from opposite sides, and took up their abode in two houses connected by a covered way, so that they could see and speak to one another without being observed.

The negotiations could not be very difficult, since the preliminaries must have been agreed on before they were opened. France now actually engaged to pay the two millions demanded; to abandon all her claims and connexions in Italy; and lastly, to renounce her suzerainty over Flanders and Artois. On the other hand, Charles V. gave up some comparatively unimportant claims; *e. g.* to Peronne and Boulogne; and, for the present, relinquished his scheme of conquering Burgundy.\* The principle which then prevailed throughout Europe — that of severing states, and making them independent of each other — was observable in this treaty of peace. Whilst France gave up its foreign enterprises, its internal affairs remained untouched. Burgundy and Valois at length, after so many bloody wars, separated. Burgundy had not indeed

\* The Emperor, however, remarks in his counter report of 1536, that he “*ursach und gewalt gehabt hätte, noch grössers und mehrers von ihm (dem König) zu begeren und abzunehmen, die- weil ich damals zu wasser und zu land sighaft von Gott und mit treffenlicher rüstung gefasst und — vil sterker denn er gewesen bin.*” “*. . . . had at that time cause and power to demand and to take greater and more things from him (the king) since I was then by God’s grace victorious by land and water, and prepared with excellent armaments, and much stronger than he.*”

realised all its pretensions, but it had gained immense advantages. It had succeeded in circumscribing the house of its rival within the limits of France.

But it was not to be imagined that every thing was thus concluded. Francis I. protested against the treaty of Cambray, as he had done against that of Madrid. He persisted in affirming that Asti and Milan were his inalienable inheritance, and that of his children; that Genoa belonged to him; that it was impossible for a treaty wrung from him first by his own captivity, and then by that of his children, to be binding upon him.\* When the verification of it was laid before the parliament, the procureur général, Maître François Rogier, solemnly protested against it, on the ground that it had been brought about by the violence done to a feudal lord by his vassal, and was therefore contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.† But these protests were only the utterance of the feeling that France yielded to force,—and very reluctantly; they were an act of reservation for the future, wholly insignificant for the present, and therefore attracting no attention.

At first every one rejoiced that peace was actually concluded. On all the points but those in which an express alteration had been agreed on—and these were but four—the treaty of Madrid was confirmed; they were now both pro-

\* Protestation du Roy François contre les Traités de Madrid et de Cambray. The title of the document printed in Du Mont, in Dupuy's collection, 179.

† Protestation du Procureur Général. Du M. iv. ii. 52. nr. 39.

claimed together, and entered in the state register. The letter in which Duchess Louisa announces the conclusion of the treaty to her son is very characteristic; the safety of his person, she tells him, resulting from the peace which God had granted them, is dearer to her than her own life\*; the personal danger into which he was about to rush, was the chief motive for her efforts. The Netherlanders were very proud that such an act had emanated from their regent; the French delegate was asked at a dinner, whether people had imagined that lady capable of such a work, and whether the French were satisfied with it? The Frenchman replied, "that a part of the merit was due to his king; that on the mere word of the archduchess he had discharged 15,000 landsknechts, with whom he could have struck some decisive blow."† The pope was more delighted than any body; he found no words strong enough to express his sense of the service which Duchess Louisa had rendered to Europe. It was a peculiar satisfaction to him that the treaty contained no stipulations in favour of the members of the Ligue, of whom he had to complain. In spite of all its provisions, he had no belief in any long continuance of the emperor's ascendancy. The protests of the French are quite in accordance with Clement's inti-

\* Lettre de Madame au Roi après le traité de Cambray. Bethune, 8471. Copie. "La seureté, Monseigneur, en la quelle je cognois votre personne par la paix, que j'estime plus que ma propre vie."

† De la Pommeraye au connetable 17 Sept. 1529. Beth. 8610.

mations, that as soon as the king had his sons back again, and not till then, remedies would be found for all the other evils.\*

Nor was this the only cause of the pope's satisfaction. In the course of the negotiations, as well as in the treaty itself, the king showed himself no less an enemy of the religious innovations than the emperor. In the full powers granted by Francis, he alleges as one of the grounds of his desire for peace, his earnest wish to suppress the heresies which had arisen in Christendom; "that the Church might be honoured as the salvation of souls required."† In the 43d article of the treaty of peace, it was said, that the emperor and the king were determined to maintain the holy see in all its dignity and consideration, as beseemed their imperial and royal station and power. Among the articles of the treaty of Madrid that were confirmed, was the one in which the king promised the emperor his aid against the heretics, no less than against the Turks. So entire a change being thus effected in the relations of the

\* Lettre de Raince, 12 Août 1529. "Surtout ne pourroit être plus content qu'il est de ce qu'il entend qu'on a eu memoire de luy, et semble qu'il ayt quelque advis que aucuns des confederés soient aucunement (in some degree) demeurés en derriere; que luy confirme la satisfaction en quoi il est autant ou plus que nulle autre chose et fait bien compte, s'ils vouloient aller le chemin qui sera requis, que delivrés et retournés en France Messieurs que à tout se aura bon remède."

† "Pour extirper les heresies qui pullulent en la Chrestienté et que l'eglise soit reverée et honorée ainsi qu'il appartient pour le salut de nos ames." Du M. ii. iv. p. 16.

great powers, the most important question now was, What would be the course pursued by the king of England, whose projects of divorce had, by a sort of re-action, so largely contributed to the change?

Wolsey's hope of carrying through these projects had been founded on political combinations which now no longer existed. He thought himself justified in the largest anticipations from the influence of the French court on the see of Rome, and on the gratitude of the latter towards England.

As to the pope, his real opinion was, that the king would do better to take another wife, without any further agitation of the question, and then to call in the Apostolic See as judge.\* This, however, the respect for the letter of the laws, which, even in that age, distinguished England, did not permit. The king wished to have the legitimacy of the possible issue of a second marriage fully established: he chose that the power which had bound, should also loose him from his ties. Wolsey hoped that the successes of the Ligue would lead the pope to consent to this. He repeatedly urged Francis to do as much for the dissolution of the marriage, as the king of England had done for the restitution of the children of France; adding, that he had only to declare to the pope that he

\* Casalis 13 Jan. Fiddes, p. 461. "Quia nullus doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re melius decernere possit quam ipse rex; itaque si in hoc se resolverint, ut pontifex credit, statim committat causam (in England), aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittat pro legato."

thought the cause of the king of England just, and that if Rome refused Henry's petition, he should regard it as an offence done to himself, and should never forget it. Francis well knew the importance to himself of Wolsey's continuance in power; and Wolsey reminded him that he should be ruined if this affair were not brought to a successful issue, after the positive assurances he had given the king.\* And, in fact, the pope himself wished that the joint importunities of England and France had been such as would have enabled him to excuse himself to the emperor, on the ground of a sort of moral compulsion.† But it does not appear that the French thought it expedient to go so far. They had not yet abandoned the idea of a marriage between the Princess Mary, the presumptive heiress to the throne of England, and one of their princes.‡

\* Bellay à Montmorency, 22 Mai, 1528 : " en la quelle (l'affaire du divorce) s'il ne s'employoit tant et si avant, qu'il voudroit faire pour le recouvrement des Messrs. les enfans, il pourroit être seur d'avoir causé à mon d. Sr le legat une totale ruine, pour les grandes assurances qu'il en a toujours baillé à son dit maistre."

† D. Knight. Herbert, 218. The Pope thinketh he might by good colour say to the emperor, that he was required by the English Ambassadeurs et Mr. de Lautrech to proceed in the business.

‡ Bellay mentions this motive in a despatch of the 8th Nov. He, for his own part, scruples to concede the point of the nullity of Catharine's marriage, because of the use that might be made of that concession, " où le mariage de M. d'Orleans tireroit. Aucuns de deça disent, que, quoique on fasse, qui espousera la princesse sera après roi d'Angleterre."



As Henry would not proceed in the affair without the pope, and as no measures seemed likely to be taken for extorting Clement's consent, he was obliged to resort to diplomatic negotiations, the progress and result of which were, from their very nature, dependent on contingencies.

The English delegates who, in March and April, 1528, remained with the pope, did not deceive themselves. "The difficulties and delays which we encounter in this affair, arise," say they, "mainly from fear; we find every one as well-disposed as possible to forward the matter, but people are afraid that any unusual favour granted to the king may lead to a new captivity, provided the emperor retains his power."\* The ambassadors again made an attempt to combat fear by fear. They one day represented to the pope that he would lose the only prince who was really attached to him; "not only the King of England, but the Defender of the Faith," as Wolsey once expressed himself. Then would the papacy, already nodding to its fall, be completely overthrown, to the joy of all men. The pope was not insensible to this danger; he walked up and down the room in their presence, making violent gesticulations, and it was some time before his excitement was calmed.† He

\* Gardiner and Fox Orviet the last day of March, in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. v. p. 402., that if there were any thing doon novum et gratiosum agaynst the emperors purpose, it should be materia novæ captivitatis.

† The same Monday in Easter week, *ibid.* 423. The pope also gave the French ambassador hopes "qu'entre cy et demain



did, in fact, make some advances to the English in consequence; naming Cardinal Campeggi (who was on the best footing with Henry VIII., and whose appointment was proposed by the ambassadors) legate to England, and granting him authority to declare the papal dispensation on which Henry VIII.'s marriage was founded, operative or the contrary, and the marriage itself valid or invalid, according to his own judgment. This he did in the beginning of June, 1528, while the affairs of the French before Naples were in the most promising state.\* The ambassadors had also promised him to induce the Venetians to restore his cities.†

Shortly after followed the defeat of Lautrec before Naples; we have seen what a complete revolution the papal policy instantly underwent in favour of the emperor, and this now necessarily extended to the English affair, in which Charles took so deep an interest.

On the 2d of September, Campeggi was reminded that, however strongly his Holiness might feel himself bound to the king of England, he must also show all possible consideration for the victorious emperor, and not furnish him with fresh occa-

prendra quelque bonne forme de conclusion, qui pourra satisfaire au roy d'Angleterre." Rance; Le Grand, iii. p. 190.

\* Commission Viterbii VI. Jun. (8th June) printed in Herbert, p. 233.

† This is evident from Casalis's letter in Burnet's History of the Reformation, Records ii. nr. 17. The pope says to the ambassador, Vos scire volo, promissum mihi fuisse, si legatus hic in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates a Venetis restituerentur.

sion for a rupture, which would not only be an obstacle to peace, but would bring utter ruin on the States of the Church.\*

In October, 1528, Campeggi came to England. However strong were the expressions which he used with regard to the emperor, it was very soon evident that he had no intention of offering any serious resistance to him. He admonished both the king and Wolsey to desist from their project. He utterly refused to produce the bull by which Wolsey hoped to prove to the Privy Council the pope's favourable intentions towards the king: probably he burned it.† He affected at every step to have recourse to Rome for instructions. He rejected with the utmost vehemence the prevalent notion that, as a marriage with a brother's widow was forbidden in the Old Testament, this was a case in which the pope had no dispensing power. It only remained, therefore, to prove that the dispensation in question was not based on tenable grounds. Here too, however, insurmountable difficulties presented themselves, as the queen, on

\* Sanga to Campeggi. Viterbo, 2nd Sept. 1528. History of the Popes, i. 126.

† Pallavicini denies (lib. ii. c. xv.) the existence of this bull which Guicciardini affirmed. But it is only necessary to read the above-mentioned report by Casalis on his negotiations with the pope in Dec. 1528., in order to dispel all doubt. S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu — dixit — bullam decretalem dedisse, ut tantum regi ostenderetur concremareturque. Burnet, Records, ii. 17. p. 42. What this bull contained we cannot of course make out, as nobody saw it but the king and Campeggi. I am not disposed to believe Guicciardini's assertion.

whose testimony the whole matter depended, constantly affirmed that the marriage with Prince Arthur had not been consummated. She was a woman of so noble and dignified a character, that she was universally believed. She also availed herself of her legal right of protesting against her two judges, on the ground of partiality.\*

During these delays, however, the pope became (especially after the affair of Florence), more and more intimately allied with the emperor, who declared that he regarded the interests of his aunt as his own. In May, 1529, the English envoy expressed his fears that the commission of the two cardinals would be formally recalled.†

This was probably the motive which led the king to open the proceedings without further delay.

On the 31st of March, 1529, they commenced; but on the 29th, instructions had already been sent to Campeggi from Rome, to protract them as much as possible, and by no means to suffer judgment to be pronounced.‡ These orders he punctually obeyed. The affair had not got beyond preliminaries and matters of form, when, on the 28th July, Campeggi adjourned the sittings to the 1st of October. He also claimed the holidays of the Roman rota for himself.

\* Bellay, 17th Nov. 1528.

† Gardiner 4th May, which was confirmed by divers other letters from our agents. Herbert, p. 232.

‡ Sanga al Cl. Campeggio, 29 Maggio, 1529. Sua Beatitudine ricorda, che il procedere sia lento et in modo alcuno non si venghi al giudicio. Lettere de' principi, ii.

After concluding his treaty of peace with the emperor, Clement was still in time to evoke the suit from England to the tribunals of the curia.

On the 9th of July the pope declared to the English envoys, that he shared the opinion common to all the Roman lawyers, that this evocation could no longer be refused. The ambassadors used every possible means of dissuading him from it; but he replied that he was hemmed round by the power of the emperor, who could not only force him to do justice, but in whose hands he himself was. "I see," said he, "the consequences as clearly as you do; but I am between the hammer and the anvil. If I oblige the king, I draw down the most destructive storm on myself and on the church."\*

On the 18th of July peace was proclaimed in Rome between the pope and the emperor. On the 19th, the pope sent word to Cardinal Wolsey that, to his great regret, he found himself compelled to evoke the cause from England to the curia.

Wolsey had always assured his sovereign that he should be able to carry through the affair to which, as affecting him personally, Henry attached the greatest importance. The king now saw himself cited to appear in person in Rome, and what particularly irritated him, under an express pecuniary penalty.† He thought this so offensive to his dig-

\* Burnet, from the Ambassadors' despatches, p. 76.

† "The K. Highness supposeth—that it should not be nedeful any such letters citatorial, conteyning matier prejudicial to his persone and royal estate to be showed to his subjects."—Gardiner to Wolsey, 4 Aug. State Papers, i. p. 336.

nity, that he did not choose to let his subjects know it.

Wolsey had also assured him that France would never desert him. Even in May, 1529, he would not believe this possible; he caught with eagerness at every rumour of a new rupture between that country and the empire, and founded fresh plans upon it. But what he refused to believe, came to pass.

Nothing remained for King Henry but to accede to the peace. His participation in the war had of late been so slight, that the peace which he concluded seemed but a supplement to that of France; it has hardly a place in English history. It was enough for the king that France undertook to pay the money which he claimed from the emperor, out of the above-mentioned two millions.\*

But no one acquainted with the character of Henry, could for a moment expect that he would desist from his great project, the divorce. The desire of having a legitimate heir and successor by Anne Boleyn, was become his ruling passion. Indeed the affair now assumed a far more important character than heretofore.

Above all, the downfall of Wolsey was become inevitable. Already had his anti-Austrian measures experienced opposition, not only in the Privy Council, but in the nation. Any war with the Nether-

\* See *Commissio ad tractandum de jocalibus recipiendis*. Rymer, vi. ii. 19. "Cum oratoribus," says Francis I., "Angliæ regis, pro omnibus obligationibus absque pignore contractis convenimus."

lands was unpopular in England; the English merchants, discontented at the breach of the peace, had been at one time brought only by a sort of compulsion to resort to the markets as theretofore. The king had been mainly persuaded into this policy by Wolsey's assurances that the alliance would be productive of immediate pecuniary advantage to himself. The cardinal often represented to the French ambassadors what arts, "what terrible alchemy," as he expressed it, were necessary to enable him to withstand his enemies.\* But all his resources were now exhausted. His foreign policy, which had been calculated on a union between England, France, and Rome, had completely failed. Despairing of being able to carry through the projects which he had so zealously encouraged, it is unquestionable that he at length advised the king to desist from them. But he thus lost, as might be expected, the king's grace and favour; he irritated a considerable party, which Anne Boleyn had won over, and particularly her father, who had been created Marquis of Rochfort: old enemies and new rose up against him; and just then Suffolk, who during his stay in France had shown himself little disposed to favour the cardinal's schemes, returned, and now openly quarrelled with him.† Norfolk had never been his friend.

\* Bellay, 16th Feb. 1528. in *Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce*, iii. p. 84.

† According to a letter of Bellay's of the 29th May, the king

Thus fell Wolsey. In November, 1529, he was deprived of the Great Seal; in December he was found guilty of having infringed the privileges of the kingdom, by an undue exercise of his power as legate. Neither the returning support of the French, nor (to use Norfolk's words) "the counsels of his star-gazers," could save him.

A still more important point however was, that these affairs became the subject of an angry controversy between the king and the pope. The declaration of the former, — that he would marry Anne Boleyn, if the pope allowed it, and if the pope did not allow it, he would still marry her, — sounds like a jest\*; but it was the prelude to an event which changed the history of England. Wolsey is reported to have urged the pope to excommunicate the king of England, because, in that case, the people would revolt against him.† Whether this be well-founded or not, the bare rumour was sufficient to determine the king to put an end at once to the possibility of such an interference with the internal affairs of his kingdom.

To return to the emperor. It was doubtless advantageous to him that he was for the present delivered from the hostility of England, and had

was persuaded by the cardinal "*qu'il n'a tant avancé le mariage qu'il eust fait, s'il eust voulu.*" Le Grand, p. 313.

\* From a letter of the emperor to Ferdinand, 10th Jan. 1530.

† See the extracts from a letter from Chapuis to Charles in Hormayr's Archiv. 1810. p. 131. The Joncquim there alluded to is no other than the Genoese, John Joachim, who is elsewhere so frequently mentioned.



his hands free in that direction; yet he soon expressed a doubt whether he should not be compelled by the honour of his house, to draw his sword again in the cause of his aunt, Henry's repudiated wife.

His letters show that he by no means calculated on the stability of peace, when, in the summer of 1529, he made serious preparations for going to Italy.

This design he had long seriously entertained. He seemed suddenly conscious that the years of youth were past for him; he felt himself a man, and wished to take a personal share in the great concerns which had hitherto been carried on in his name; "to show the world," as one of his confidential friends said, "his true self, his mind and heart, which hitherto had been known to them alone."\* He was animated by a completely personal and chivalrous ambition. He hoped either immediately to bring about a peace in Italy, or to give such an impulse to the war as would lead to its successful termination; then to receive the imperial crown, and to repair to Germany, whither, as he said, he was called by his anxiety lest the greater part of the country should secede from the church of Rome, or be over-run and conquered by the Turks.† In reply to a message from his bro-

\* Philibert of Orange's Instructions to Balança, Pap. d'état, de Granv. i. 434: Apres avoir veu le tant grand desir quy (l'empereur) montre, de se trouver en quelque lieu pour donner a cognoistre a tout le monde ce que preça nous aultres ses serveurs avons cogneu, qu'est d'avoir le cœur tel quil a.

† Sandoval, ii. p. 25.

ther, respecting an impending invasion of the Turks, he sent him word that he would not only assist him, but, if possible, take the field himself.

Had not this desire been so strong within him, he would not so easily have entered upon a negotiation, in which he ceded to Portugal the claims of the crown of Castile to the Moluccas, for the sum of 350,000 florins. The Spaniards were not very well satisfied at this, but the emperor wanted to be rid of these disputed questions, which had already led to sanguinary quarrels in the East\* ; and, above all, he was in want of money. He was well content that the Portuguese found means to pay him by rapid instalments.

He now turned a deaf ear to all opposition. He said he could not be satisfied with himself till he had taken this journey.

On the 27th of July, 1529, the emperor took ship at Barcelona, and on the 12th of August, landed at Genoa.

In all the plenitude of a power, not (like that of the emperors of old) composed of German elements alone, but formed of a wonderful combination of the south and the north, Charles now appeared on the Italian frontiers of the ancient empire. In his retinue we find all the glorious names of Castilian history ; Mendoza, Guzman, Pacheco, Manrique,

\* Herrera Historia de las Indias, Dec. iv. lib. v. p. 117.

† L'empereur au Sieur de Montfort. Pap. d'état. i. p. 415. When difficulties occurred, he said, "que je n'estois en fasson du monde deliberé de lasser de faire ce voyage, et que je ne me pouvois satisfayre de moi-mesme si je ne le faisois."

Zuniga, Toledo, Cueva, Rojas, Ponce de Leon; every great house had sent a representative, and the most brilliant among them all was Alvarez Ossorio, Marquis of Astorga. They were joined by Navarrese, Catalans, and Aragonese. He also brought fresh troops from Malaga to re-inforce those in Milan and Naples. The imperial power, personified in the emperor, acquired a romantic and highly catholic character, from the new elements combined with it. It was only necessary to look at this court, in order confidently to predict its intentions.

Let us next observe how, meanwhile, matters had gone on in Germany.

## CHAPTER V.

DIET OF SPIRES, A. D. 1529.

WE have seen how great was the influence of political affairs on the rise and progress of religious reform. Had it not been for the divisions existing between the two highest powers of Europe, the decisive resolutions of the diet of 1526 would never have passed.

Since that time, however, no further proceedings of practical importance had taken place in the empire.

The mission to the emperor, which was then resolved on, was withheld under frivolous pretences. The Saxon party confidently maintained that this was solely the effect of the secret intrigues of the spiritual Estates, who seemed to fear that the growing differences between the emperor and the pope might lead the former to decide in a manner disadvantageous to them.

A congress of the princes of the empire held at Esslingen, in December, 1526, had no other object than the defence of the country against the Ottomans; the resolutions which it passed were neither important in themselves, nor productive of the slightest results.

In May, 1527, a diet was convoked at Regensburg; but it was so ill attended that those present

did not even consider themselves authorised to deliberate upon matters which had been expressly referred to them; *e. g.* the affair of the deputation to the emperor above-mentioned. They passed a resolution "to undertake no business whatever." \*

In March, 1528, a new diet was appointed to be held at Regensburg; but the pope's adherents were still not without apprehensions as to the probable decisions of the assembled States; affairs in general were indeed still too uncertain to enable them to form any settled opinions themselves. In the first place, King Ferdinand postponed the opening of the meeting from March till May†; then, an edict of the emperor's appeared, which peremptorily forbade it, without assigning any satisfactory reasons; only, to quote the words of the edict, from "notable grounds and causes." ‡ We find from records of the papal court, that "no good conclusion" was anticipated there. §

But the more weighty matters of foreign policy were now decided, and a complete change in the internal affairs of Germany was inevitable.

The emperor's sentiments were learned, from a distance indeed, but quite unequivocally. We

\* I remark that the extract from this recess in Häberlin (xi. 46.) does not precisely correspond with the original (Reichsabschiede ii. 185.).

† Neudecker Actenstücke, i. 26.

‡ Proclamation in the Frankfurt Acts of the 10th April, which, however, reached Germany in time.

§ Sanga a Castiglione, Lettre di diversi autori p. 56. Prudentemente pensò, poter facilmente essere che ne succedesse qualche non buona determinazione.

have already alluded to the proceedings of his vice-chancellor, Walldkirch. He declared to the people of Augsburg, in the plainest manner, that the emperor was displeased with them because they had introduced changes in religion. In Strasburg he threatened the nobles who sat in the council with loss of life, if they did not oppose the abolition of the mass.\* The impression he made, and the hopes excited by the renewed connexion with the imperial court, may be inferred from this, among other circumstances;—the Chapter of Constance, which shortly before had been compelled to yield to the force of the new opinions, and to emigrate to Ueberlingen, now chose him, the vice-chancellor, as coadjutor.

The peace concluded by the emperor with the pope was of immense advantage to the bishops, as it not only reconciled, but united, the two supreme powers. The clergy could now once more reckon on strenuous and efficient support.

This was the more welcome at a moment when they all felt the dangers by which they were threatened by the progress of reform in Switzerland. We discover from numerous publications expressive of their opinions, what anxiety Zwingli's departure from the established doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper excited in all quarters; it was feared that the Oberland cities, infected with the new heresy, would separate themselves from the empire.†

\* Röhrich *Gesch. der Reform im Elsass* I. 360.

† Es weiss der gemein Man nitt glich, ob er sy Schwytz oder

Nor can we deny that the violent courses into which the landgrave had suffered himself to be led by Pack's forgeries, had exercised a very unfavourable influence on the cause of the reformation. They had confirmed the Swabian league in its anti-evangelical system; and it now excluded the Memmingen delegates from its council, because Memmingen had abolished the service of the mass, and embraced Zwingli's opinions.

In his brief of October, 1528, to which we have alluded, the pope had solemnly called upon the emperor to take up the cause of religion at the approaching diet, with greater earnestness than heretofore: immediate care must, he said, be taken that at least the evil be not suffered to spread. One effect of this was that, on the last day of November, the convocation of a new diet, to be holden at Spire on the 21st of February, 1529, was issued. The States were apprised that no notice would be taken of the absent, and that those who were present would proceed to business in the same manner as if the assembly were complete.\*

ghör zum Rych. The common people do not rightly know whether they are Swiss, or belong to the empire. (Lied gegen Constanx, bei Vierordt, p. 34.)

\* The printed copy of the extract names the first, the MS. copy, the twenty-first. "And if you do not appear within ten days after the day appointed, our envoys and commissaries will, notwithstanding, discuss and determine affairs with the States then and there present, in all respects as if you and others who absented yourselves on slight and frivolous grounds, had been present. All which we shall attend to and execute with firmness and vigour, in the same manner as if all the States, whether present or absent, had agreed to them."



The subjects specially announced for deliberation were, the armament against the Turks, the violations of the Public Peace, and, above all, the religious innovations.

This time the announcement of a diet was serious and sincere ; the imperial commissioners made their appearance at the time appointed ; the ecclesiastical princes came in greater number than usual, and those who did not come, sent the most zealous of their ministers in their stead.\* The Bishop of Constance, for example, was represented by the same Faber who, as we saw, took an active part in the political and religious troubles of Switzerland. He had seen Erasmus on his way, and expressed himself in such terms, that the latter expected nothing but war and violence.† The catholic principle had also gained new adherents among the secular princes. Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who had hitherto been reckoned among the evangelical party, now entirely concurred with his son Magnus, Bishop of Schwerin,—one of the most violent opponents of change. The Elector Palatine, who had almost formally joined the reformers, forbade his people to attend the preachings. It was thought that he had been persuaded to take this course by his brother, the

\* “I am afraid,” writes Jacob Sturm to Peter Bütz in the middle of March, “from what I see of the persons here, there will not be much to be obtained.”—“In summa, Christus est denuo in manibus Caiaphæ et Pilati.” Jung, *Gesch. des Reichstags zu Speier*, Beil. nr. 4.

† *Erasmi Epistolæ*, ii. 1220.

Count Palatine Frederic, who had once more conceived hopes of obtaining the hand of an Austrian princess. "The Palatinate," says a letter from Spires, "will have nothing more to do with Saxony."

Under these circumstances, surrounded by opinions favourable to their wishes, the imperial commissioners were enabled to bring forward measures of a decisive nature, in the Proposition\* which they delivered on the 15th of March.

While, in consequence of the pope's consent, they announced a council with greater certainty than before, and at the same time touched upon the old question—how affairs were to be carried on in the interval—they proposed formally to revoke the article of the Recess† of 1526, in virtue of which all existing innovations were recognised and admitted; on the ground, that it gave occasion to "much ill counsel and misunderstanding;"‡ and to substitute for it another ordinance of a directly opposite tendency, in favour of the spiritual authorities.

This was the notion entertained by most of the orthodox. In the instructions given by Duke

\* See Vol. I. p. 517., Translator's note.

† *Abschied*. See Preface to Vol. I. Translator's note.

‡ "Your Imperial Majesty," says the Proposition, "hereby repeals, revokes, and annuls the above-mentioned article contained in the above-mentioned recess, now as then, and then as now, all out of your own imperial absolute power (*Machtvollkommenheit*)." Müller, *Historie von der evangelischen Stände, Protestation und Appellation*, p. 22.

George of Saxony to his ambassador to the diet, we find that he too regarded this article as the cause of all the existing troubles.\* He demanded that a uniform standard of faith should be established, and that the representative and government of his imperial majesty should not surrender their power.

The first thing was to appoint a committee to deliberate and report upon the Proposition.

In this, as was fully to be expected, the orthodox party were greatly superior. Among the electoral votes, only that of Saxony was on the evangelical side. Of the nine princes' votes, five were ecclesiastical, and three of the secular decidedly catholic; while not only Faber, but Leonard von Eck, the leader of the re-action in Bavaria, was a member of the committee. There could be little doubt of the result. On the 24th of March the committee declared its assent to the proposed article, and only added the following provisions. "Those who had held to the edict of Worms, should continue to do so: in the districts which had departed from it, no further innovation should be introduced, and no one should be prevented from saying mass. No ecclesiastical body should be deprived of its authority or revenues, on pain of ban and reban. Lastly, the sects which deny the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, should in no wise be

\* "Denn dieweil es ein Jeder sol machen wie er wil und gegen Gott und kais. Maj. vornimmt zu verantworten, so kann kein Einigkeit seyn."—"For since every man is to do as he will, and as he thinks he can answer it to God and his imperial majesty, there can be no unity." Instrument in the Dresden Archives.

tolerated any more than the anabaptists." With these additions the report was laid before the States.

All the measures of the States in favour of the evangelical doctrines had been the consequence of the leaning of the majority towards them. The majority was now reversed. What the former had enacted, the present sought to repeal. In the sittings of the 6th and 7th of April, they adopted the report of the commission without the smallest alteration.

Nor were the friends of reform to be deluded by the mere sound of the words, into the idea that the only thing intended was to check the progress of the movement. This was undoubtedly the immediate purpose; but, on a careful examination, it was evident that these ordinances were incompatible with the maintenance of the changes already effected in the several countries, on the strength of former Recesses.

One leading motive to the previous Recess had been, the necessity of appeasing the internal troubles in the several countries; hence it had been left to princes and subjects to come to an understanding with one another on religious questions, as they could. Now, those who had prohibited the Latin mass were compelled to tolerate it, and nothing could be expected but an entire dissolution of all that had been settled.

Further: the very existence of the changes that had been adopted, rested on a tacit denial of the episcopal jurisdictions; the authority of the bishops (that is, their spiritual authority) was now

established anew. The right of appointing or removing preachers was, among others, unquestionably restored to them.\* How could this be endured for a moment?

The reforms were still going on most prosperously in many cities. Some had delayed to take the final step, because they were still in expectation of some new express concession from the diet of the empire; *e.g.* the admission of both elements in the sacrament. They were now condemned to abide implicitly, and for ever, by the established forms.

Lastly, Zwingli's followers were absolutely excluded from the Peace of the Empire.

In short, though the dissidents were not expressly admonished in the Recess, to return to the bosom of the church they had abandoned, it was unquestionable that by assenting to it they would bring about the total and speedy ruin of the evan-

\* Fürstenberg, Wednesday after Quasimodogeniti (7th April): "Es werden in dem allerlei Wörtlin eingeschlichen, die den Städten, als den man ufsetzig und gefer ist, nit treglich noch leidlich seyn; mit Namen dass man niemand an seiner Oberkeyt und Herkommen vergweltigen soll, damit wird den Geistlichen, so solcher Artikel angenommen und verwilligt wird, erfolgen, die Prädicanten zu setzen und zu entsetzen, alle Missbrauch wieder zu erheben und andere wieder anzurichten."—"There were all sorts of little words slipped in, which are not tolerable or endurable to the cities, against which, they (the orthodox majority) are violent and dangerous; and especially that their authority and traditional jurisdiction should be forcibly set aside, in order that the clergy (in case the said article is accepted and granted), may continue to appoint and to displace the preachers, to restore all the old abuses, and to establish new ones." Frankf. Acten.

gelical church, which was just rising into importance.

It appeared as if the religious reforms which had begun to acquire consistency from the situation of the political affairs of Europe, were now about to be overthrown by the changes which those affairs had undergone. The great community of the empire, which for a while had wavered, now resumed its station on the side of the two great combined powers.

There remained also the most important of all considerations for the evangelical party; viz., whether, supposing they were inclined to venture to resist those powers, they had lawful grounds for doing so.

The question arose, whether, in the present case, a resolution of the majority of the States of the empire was binding upon the minority.

This question was of a general nature: When an institution has been established by lawful means, and has actually attained to full life and vigour, can the supreme power morally assume the right to overthrow and annihilate the new structure? Has not the body which has thus legally and efficiently constituted itself, the right to exist, and to defend its existence?

The imperial power had, on a former occasion, found itself unable to heal the general divisions, and had voluntarily abandoned its functions to the several territorial sovereigns; was it justified, now that it had acquired greater strength, in destroying what was in fact the result of its own act of delega-

tion? This nobody could admit; otherwise institutions of the greatest antiquity might, during some of the vacillations to which power vested in a fluctuating majority is exposed, be brought into question. Nothing would be secure or permanent; for when once institutions had received the sanction of law, how were they to be distinguished in principle from those which had subsisted for ages?

In the present case, too, it was to be observed, that with regard to one of the most important of those ordinances, — that enjoining the toleration of the mass, — nothing was said either in the Proposition, the report of the commission, or the transcript.\* Landgrave Philip would not admit that the majority of the States had the right to pass decrees so deeply affecting the internal affairs of the territories of the minority, without their assent.

In this declaration, Hessen, electoral Saxony, Lüneburg, and Anhalt, together with Markgrave George of Brandenburg, concurred.

The cities viewed the matter under another aspect. Their delegates in the committee remarked, that Faber had worked upon the princes mainly by insisting upon and exaggerating the dangerous consequences of the former concessions.† To this

\* Extract from the Protest (Beschwerungsschrift), Müller, p. 33.

† Matthias Pfarrer bei Jung, nr. vii.: “Der Doctor Faber bildet mit solcher Unworheit und Lügen in die Fürsten, — was uss der Ler gefolg hab und noch folgen werd, das do frilich in keines menschen gedanken ich geswige thun file, und verbittert die Fürsten mit solchen Reden.” — “Dr. Faber represents with



they replied, that Germany was indebted for the tranquillity she enjoyed, to that very Recess which they were now called upon to revoke. If, in these hasty times, they were to pass resolutions of such gravity, directly opposed to the former, nothing could be expected to result but division, and indescribable perplexities and evils.\* As yet the cities were unanimous; those which had remained catholic, as well as those which had become protestant. The reply above-mentioned is their common work. Vainly did Count Palatine Frederic represent to the reformers that they were disobedient to the imperial edict; that their innovations led rather to discontent and trouble than to the honour of God: they replied, that what they had done was not an act of hostility or insubordination to the emperor, but a measure intended to maintain peace among their people, and for the relief of consciences; that none could have a greater dread of any kind of disturbance than they. King Ferdinand entreated them two or three times to assent to the report laid before them, and added, that the emperor would hold this in most gracious remembrance. They replied, that they would obey the

such falsehood and lies to the princes what has followed and will follow from the doctrine, such as truly never could come into any man's thoughts, much less to act upon, and embitters the princes against us with such discourse."

\* "Der erbern Frei und Reichsstäte Gesandten Bedenken."  
"The scruples of the worshipful the envoys of the free and imperial cities" (8th April), Jung. nr. 26.

emperor in all that could further the maintenance of peace and the honour of God.\*

Overpowering as the majority was, it did not think it expedient to show an utter disregard of so determined a resistance. The cities especially, had strongly objected to the use of the word supremacy, in the article concerning the spiritual power—a word which had been carefully avoided in the Recess of 1526. The majority at last thought it better to omit this word, and, as before, only to forbid the subtraction of revenues and lands from the church. It added, that no one should protect the lieges and subjects of another state against their lawful lords.† But this, too, was strongly objected to by the evangelical minority. They feared that, if the words were taken literally, a bishop would think himself entitled to regard the preachers as his subjects and lieges, and that, in conformity with the article of the Recess, they must be delivered up to him—an obligation which had been disclaimed long before the introduction of the new doctrines. Forty years ago Frankfurt had refused to comply with such a demand made by Archbishop Berthold.

\* Fürstenberg, Monday after Quasimodogeniti (7th April): “Keyserlich Maj. begeren halber wiren sie urbittig, wess sie zu der ere Gottes auch frieden und ruhe dienlich gehelfen mochten, sollt man sie allerunterthänig gehorsam spüren.”—“In consequence of his Imperial Majesty’s desire, they respectfully promise that whereinsoever they can be helpful to the honour of God, and the peace and tranquillity of the realm, you shall find them most dutifully obedient.”

† So it was inserted in the Recess, § 10. Unterthanen und Verwandte.

Moreover this was only a single point, and their causes of complaint were numerous.

But the majority was inflexible; and it now remained for the evangelical party to consider whether they should allow a resolution which threatened them with destruction, to acquire the validity of law.

On the 12th of April, the Saxon envoy, Minkwitz, declared in the full assembly of the empire, that they were resolved not to allow this. He insisted chiefly on the religious grounds. In affairs of conscience, he said, a majority had no force; but besides, by what right did the diet venture to denounce as unchristian, doctrines which a part of the states held to be christian, before the council, so often demanded, had been holden? The minority would never consent to this; they would not consent that those who had hitherto conformed to the edict of Worms, should now be forbidden to abide by it; for this would be to pass condemnation on their own doctrines. The other reformers were greatly rejoiced at seeing their cause pleaded with such zeal.\* Minkwitz urged the States of the empire to adhere to their former decree; if this had been perverted to any bad purpose (which, he affirmed, on the evangelical side was not the case), the evil might be remedied by a declaration. Under these conditions, he promised that the party to which he belonged would assent to the other resolutions.

\* Fürstenberg. He conducted their affairs "with the greatest earnestness, bravely, and for the best."

But all his arguments were vain.

On the 19th of April, King Ferdinand, Walldkirch, and the other commissioners appeared in the assembly of the States, thanked them for their "christian, faithful and assiduous services," and declared their resolutions accepted; so that there only remained to reduce them into the form of a Recess. They rejected the proposals and objections of the elector of Saxony and his adherents, solely on the ground that the resolutions were "adopted according to ancient praiseworthy usage, by the greater part of the electors and princes," so that the rest must also submit to them.\* The evangelical princes, startled at so direct a refusal, which had the air of a reproof†, and, as it was read aloud before all the States, must be entered on the records of the empire, retired for a moment into an adjoining room, in order instantly to agree upon some answer. But the king and the imperial commissioners were not disposed to wait for this. In reply to a request of the princes, that they would not refuse a short delay, King Ferdinand said that he had received the positive commands of his imperial majesty; these he had executed, and so the matter must remain: the articles were determined on.‡ So saying, he and the commissioners

\* Intended message which his royal highness (Königl. Durchlauchtigkeit) caused to be read aloud. In the *Instrumentum Appellationis* of Müller, p. 72.

† They call it "an almost insolent rebuke."

‡ Narrative in the *Appellations Instrument*, p. 75., and in the letter of the Strasburg envoy, 21st April, Jung. nr. 44.

left the house. Still more irritated by the contempt for their dignity and their rights which this conduct implied, the evangelical States now determined to execute a project which they had conceived some weeks before, as soon as they saw the turn affairs were taking at the diet. They resolved to resort to the only legal means of resistance left them. It was evidently impossible to make the assembly recede from its resolutions ; to submit to them, would be to renounce their own existence. They re-appeared in the same sitting, — not indeed before the king and the imperial commissioners, but before the States still assembled, — and caused that protest to be read aloud, from which they took the name their descendants still bear — Protestants.

They especially insisted on the fundamental principles of the laws of the empire.\* They declared that they could not be obliged, without their consent, to give up the privileges secured to them by the Recess lately drawn up at Spires, which had been confirmed by such strong mutual promises, and attested by their common seals ; that the attempt of the other States to repeal this by their separate act, was null and void, and had no authority over them ; that they should go on to conduct themselves towards their subjects in

\* A legal argument of a general nature which they adduce is, that “auch in menschen Handlungen und Sachen das mirer wider das minder nicht fürdrücken möcht da die Sachen nit ir vil in ein gemein, sundern ieden sunderlich belangt.” — “In human dealings and affairs, the more ought not to oppress the less ; since the affair does not belong to many of them in common, but to each in particular.” Müller, p. 114.

matters of religion, according to the terms of the former Recess, and as they thought they could answer it to God and the emperor. If the other States were not to be restrained from framing the present Recess with the offensive resolutions, they begged that their protest might at least be incorporated with it.

This declaration, the mere form of which is most remarkable, was expressed with all possible external deference and courtesy. The States were all spoken of as "our dear lords, cousins, uncles, and friends;" they were entitled, with the most careful attention to their several distinctions, "You, well beloved, and you, others."\* To the former were addressed "friendly requests," to the latter, "gracious consideration" (*gnädiges Gesinnen*); and while they do not for an instant lose sight of their princely dignity, they beg their opponents not to misunderstand the course which they feel themselves compelled to adopt: in return, they promise the former to deserve this by their friendship, and the latter, to requite it by their good will. The style of the documents of this century certainly have no claim to be called beautiful or classical; but they are suited to the circumstances, and have a marked character,—like the men of that age and all that they do.

\* *Eure Liebden und Ihr Andern*. It is impossible to find in another language terms which represent the precise distinctions implied in these and the following words. The reader will understand that they are among the various graduated forms of respectful address.—TRANS.

The king, to whom this protest was delivered, together with some additions made the following day, did not think it expedient to accept it; nevertheless it made an immense impression. That a diet could thus end in open disunion, seemed to promise nothing less than immediate violence. On the 20th, Henry of Brunswick and Philip of Baden were commissioned by the majority to endeavour to mediate between the parties.

The points on which the mediators agreed with the evangelical party are very remarkable.

They conceded that the article concerning the jurisdiction of the clergy over their subjects, and others connected with them by secular relations, should receive certain limitations.

The evangelical party, on the other hand, promised that no further innovation should be attempted before the convocation of a council; and especially that no sect should be tolerated which denied the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ.

The two parties agreed mutually to tolerate their differences as to the service of the mass; no sovereign was to have any thing to say on this head, out of his own secular dominions.\*

\* "Also dass kein Churfürst noch andre Stände usserthalb ihrer weltlichen Oberkeiten (Gebiete) den andern zu oder von sinem alten oder neuen Fürnemen oder Haltung der Messen in eynichem Wege vergweltigen, darzu oder davon dringen sol." — "So that no Elector nor other Estate, out of his own temporal jurisdiction (territory), should compel another to or from his old or new opinions, or, in any way whatsoever, should urge him to



These terms were actually accepted by the evangelical princes ; the cities inclining to Zwingli's views were also inclined to consent to them.

It is evident that, had the only question been, to acquiesce in some check being put to the progress of innovation (in so far as that could be effected by legal means), they would have given way ; their position was entirely a defensive one ; it was only against the influence of the spiritual jurisdiction, recognised anew by the diet, that they determined to make a stand.

But the composition of the majority left little hope that these proposals would be accepted. They might obtain the assent of a few temporal princes, but the spiritual, to whom the revolution in public affairs appeared to open a brilliant prospect of the restoration of their power, disdained to listen to them. Nor were all the temporal princes satisfied with the first resolutions of the committee. Duke George of Saxony demanded more precise regulations concerning the deserted convents and the married priests ; he wanted that all references to the holy scriptures at variance with tradition, should be forbidden.\* But above all it was impossible to gain over King Ferdinand. He was irritated that the

or from the maintenance of the mass." Article of Composition. Müller, p. 42. Walch, xvi. 422, where, however, great errors occur (e. g., *bessern*, instead of *besten*). Jung. nr. 45.

\* Letter to his ambassador, 17th April. He requires the addition, "dass sich niemand unterstehe, die h. Schrift weiter zu deuten oder Disputation einzuführen, denn wie dieselbigen angenommenen Lerer oder der merer Tail unter inen thut an-

evangelical princes had framed and published a protest, without first attempting to negotiate with him; that they had sent it to him with so little ceremony, and had even rejected negotiations which he had empowered Planitz to open. He was also greatly displeased with the evangelical cities, especially Strasburg, which, shortly before the diet, had abolished the mass; nor could he be prevailed on to allow Daniel Mieg, the delegate of that city, to take his seat in the Council of Regency. He therefore now declined any further attempt at a better understanding, and rejected the proposals of the two mediators. He refused to allow the Protest to be incorporated in the recess, or even any mention to be made of it.

In consequence of this, the evangelical princes utterly disregarded Ferdinand's request that they would give no further extension or publicity to the Protest.

A formal instrument, with all the documents annexed, was drawn up, in which the united princes, Elector John of Saxony, Markgrave George of Brandenburg, Dukes Ernest and Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hessen, and Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, appealed from the wrongs and offences done to them at the diet, to the emperor, the next general free assembly of

zeigen und beschliessen."—"That nobody should venture to comment on the holy scriptures, or to introduce disputations further than the said accepted teachers, or the greater part of them, do actually teach and decide."

holy Christendom, or to a congress of the German nation.

On the following Sunday, April 25th, the necessary legal form was given to this manifesto. This took place (for the spot is pointed out with an accuracy worthy of notice), "in the lodging of Chaplain Peter Mutterstadt, near St. John's Church at Spires, in St. John's lane of the same, in the little room on the ground floor." It was immediately made public, in order that every one might know that the princes had in no wise been consenting to the new Recess, but were determined to hold fast by the former.

This declaration acquired great additional weight from the signatures of a great number of the imperial cities.

At first they appeared resolved once more to act together as one man. For their old rule was, that, if one of them had a grievance to complain of, all the rest were to adopt it, and on no account to separate their interests or their plan of action. We observed, indeed, that the first remonstrance of the cities, though containing matter of a highly anti-clerical tendency, was signed by all. But the hearts of men were too deeply and intensely moved by the interests of religion for them to attend to old rules. The imperial commissioners sent for the delegates of the catholic cities, commended their steady adherence to the faith, and encouraged them to persevere in it. John Faber had a great personal influence over some of the smaller, such as Rottweil and Ravensburg. Others, it

was affirmed, were rendered more docile by the hope of being rated lighter to the taxation for the empire. Be this as it may; in the decisive moment when the Chancellor of Mainz asked which were the cities that felt themselves aggrieved, the recollection of their old principles made them hesitate for a moment,—but it was only for a moment. The delegate from Rottweil was the first to declare that there were many among the cities that agreed to the resolutions of the Recess. To this others assented.\* A list was drawn up in which those who thought themselves aggrieved wrote their names. At first Cologne inscribed itself; not so much because it partook of the new opinions, as because it was engaged in disputes with its clergy; but it afterwards revoked its signature. Frankfurt, too, was at first among the number, and here the new opinions had taken firm root; it subsequently withdrew, because it did not choose to break with the emperor. But the others remained inflexible. In the instrument above mentioned, fourteen were named as joining in the Protest. Strasburg, Nürnberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gall (which here once more appears among the imperial cities), Wissenburg, and Windsheim. This includes, as we perceive, all those attached to Zwingli's opinions. In the moment of need the

\* Fürstenberg's Report in the Frankf. Acts, and the priest Matthis, in those of Strasburg. "The separation between the cities began on that very day," exclaims Matthis; "that is what the clergy have been hitherto seeking."

Lutheran princes had not hesitated to unite with them.

Sovereigns so considerable, especially in the north of Germany, — cities so populous and wealthy in the south and west, — all united in opinion and in will, formed a body which commanded respect. They were determined to defend themselves with their combined strength against every attempt at compulsion on the part of the majority.

## CHAPTER VI.

## DISSENSIONS AMONG THE PROTESTANTS.

THE discussions of the diet of 1529 turned rather on a question of public law than on any points of doctrine.

All hope of a general agreement of the empire on matters of religion had long been at an end; the division between the two great parties became more and more marked and hostile. This division had indeed been recognised and sanctioned by the supreme authority, whose language and attitude in 1526 might be regarded as neutral. Now, however, when the first storm was over,—when the ecclesiastical body, after its own violent dissensions, had re-united for the maintenance of its common interests,—when the emperor had once more established amicable relations with the pope,—the catholic party succeeded in getting possession of the supreme power; the government of the empire, in the hands of the majority, assumed a thoroughly catholic complexion and attitude.

The evangelical party, while emboldened by the consciousness of a recognised legality, and cherishing the hope of further progress in the same direction, suddenly saw itself not only excluded from all share in the government of the empire (which

it had for some years mainly conducted), but threatened in its very existence.

Nothing remained but for these princes to organise themselves as a minority, determined to endure no oppression, and to resist every attempt of the kind with all their might.

It must never be forgotten, that the noble and courageous idea of taking up this defensive position,—of entrenching themselves behind the laws of the empire, — an idea from which the whole subsequent development of protestantism resulted,—was founded on the union of the confessions of Saxony and of Switzerland.

On the 21st of April King Ferdinand refused the offered mediation of Brunswick and Baden; on the 22d, Saxony and Hessen concluded “a particular secret agreement,” as it is called in the document itself, with the cities of Nürnberg, Ulm, and Strasburg. They were perfectly agreed that they would defend themselves, if they were attacked on account of God’s word; whether the attack came from the Swabian league, or from the imperial chamber, or even from the imperial government. Delegates who were to meet in June, at Rotach in the Franconian mountains, were to determine in what manner they were to assist each other.\*

No difference was, as we see, made between Nürnberg, which adhered to Lutheran opinions, and Strasburg, which had espoused those of Zwingli.

\* Article of the Reflexions on the confidential Conversation : in the Weim. Arch.



Immediately after the diet, they proceeded to reconsider the terms of this compact. Two drafts of it have come down to us; the one framed by the cities, the other by the princes. The former proceeds on the principle, that a council should be formed of the delegates of the several States, who, being released from their special duties towards their own particular constituents, should act only with a view to the common interests. The member of the alliance against whom the attack might be directed, should always appoint the leader of the combined forces. This project contains an ordinance in conformity with the constitution of the empire; viz., that the generalissimo should always be a sovereign prince, to whom should be attached a military council consisting of six members, three from the body of the princes, one from that of the counts, and two from the cities. In the draft sent in by the cities, great stress is laid on the point, that no resort should be had to arms on any but religious grounds; "only," to use their words, "if they were attacked on account of their faith, or obstructed in the visitations of the churches, under pretext of a spiritual jurisdiction." In that of the princes, which is in the handwriting of the electoral prince, the right of self-defence is especially insisted on; no mention is made of the emperor; the recent edicts are treated as mere assumptions of arbitrary power on the part of States with which they (of the protestant party) were in every respect equal in rank and dignity,

and which therefore it was not only their right, but their duty, to oppose.\*

Whichever of these projects had been preferred, it is certain that the force which the two allies could have called out would have been considerable. The electoral prince reckoned that it would be necessary to raise 10,000 foot and 2000 horse; he advised that their friends, whether near or at a distance, should be invited to join them. The fact, that they would have had Switzerland on their side was of immense importance; the imperial city of Constance had a year ago allied itself with Zürich and Bern; and St. Gall, a Swiss town, had signed the Protest. But this union would not long have remained so entirely inoffensive, and so devoid of any application to the emperor, as John Frederic intended it to be. Landgrave Philip and the council of Zürich, who were most intimately connected, had already serious schemes for the restoration of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg. In the negotiations on this matter between France and Zürich, which were opened by the latter, Zwingli expressly stipulated that the landgrave, whom he characterised as magnanimous, steadfast and wise, should be invited to join them.† Venice too had been applied to. Whilst the emperor maintained his ascendancy in the south

\* *Bedenken der Eynung des Evangeliums halber* (Reflections on the Union on account of the Gospel) in the W. A., und Erstgestellte Notel des Berstendnuss, von den von Nürnberg übergeben. (First note (sketch) of the agreement, submitted by them of Nürnberg.) Müller.

† Hottinger, ii. 282. 313.

of Europe, it appeared as if a party, bound together by religious and political interests, would rise up against him in Switzerland and Germany, and would form the centre of a new European opposition. At all events, it might be confidently expected that this union would offer an insuperable resistance to the emperor and the majority of the States of the empire.

But how short a time elapsed ere the new party was compelled, by the very nature of its own composition, to abandon all these expectations!

At the time that party was organised, the differences existing between the two confessions had been left wholly out of sight. This was indeed possible in Spires, under the pressure of a sudden, unexpected, and increasing danger; in presence of the common enemy, they felt the interests that united them, and the necessity for political combination. But as soon as they were dispersed, this impression was effaced, and the old antipathies resumed their power.

This was characteristic of the century; the efforts to throw off the yoke of the clergy had been prompted by the theological spirit; and this was too earnest and energetic to allow itself to be controlled by any political considerations.

The parties to the new league had at first kept it secret from the theologians in Spires; and when at length it was communicated to them, they were obliged to acquiesce in it.

But they were the first in whose minds scruples concerning it arose. Melanchthon, a man who,

with patient and unwearied labour, worked out in his own mind every difficult problem that came before him, returned home robbed of his accustomed cheerfulness.\* He fancied that if Zwingli's adherents had been abandoned, the Lutherans would have found the majority more willing to make concessions; he reproached himself with not having insisted upon this, as was his duty. He was alarmed at the idea that a subversion of the empire and of religion might be the consequence of this compliance. On reaching Wittenberg he spoke to Luther about it, and we may easily imagine what were his sentiments. Melanchthon fell into the most painful state of inward strife. "My conscience," says he, in a letter of the 17th May, "is disquieted because of this thing; I am half dead with pondering upon it." On the 11th June: "My soul is possessed by such bitter grief, that I neglect all the duties of friendship, and all my studies." On the 14th: "I feel myself in such disquiet, that I had rather die than endure it longer." As if with a desire to remedy the wrong that had been committed, he at length endeavoured on his own authority, to put his friends in Nürnberg on their guard against concluding the projected treaty. "For the godless opinions of Zwingli must on no account be defended."

His sovereign master, the elector, he could safely leave to Luther's influence.

\* Letter from Melanchthon to Camerarius, (17th May :) "Redii neutiquam afferens domum illam quam solebam hilaritatem." To Spengler and Justus Jonas, 1069. 1075, 1076.

Luther, as we have said, had not hesitated a moment to condemn the alliance with the followers of Zwingli. Instantly and spontaneously, on hearing Melancthon's statement of the facts, he applied to Elector John even now to set aside the agreement concluded at Spire. He represented to him that all such compacts were dangerous, and reminded him how the former one had been misused by the impetuosity of the young landgrave. "How then," said he, "shall we dare to connect ourselves with people who strive against God and the Holy Sacrament? We shall thus go to perdition, body and soul."

It can hardly be affirmed that these theological scruples ought to have been utterly disregarded, or that Luther was to be blamed for entertaining them.

We must consider that the whole reformation originated in religious convictions, which admit of no compromise, no condition, no extenuation. The spirit of an exclusive orthodoxy, expressed in rigid formulæ, and denying salvation to its antagonists, now ruled the world. Hence the violent hostility between two confessions, which in some respects approximated so nearly.

A union of their respective followers could only be rendered possible, either by disregarding their differences, or by putting an end to them.

In Spire, in the tumult of the diet, under the pressure of the common peril, the former had been deemed possible. But how could it be realised while the most violent polemical writings were interchanged between the leaders? Considering the

convictions which both parties had embraced with fervour, and held to with the utmost tenacity, such a union would have seemed to prove that the original religious motives had not been entirely free from alloy.

Luther was wholly opposed to it, and there needed only an admonition from him, to deter the elector from any such attempt.

Elector John sent indeed his delegates at the appointed time to Rotach, but with strict charge merely to listen, and report to him; he would then consult with the learned men about him whether the thing could be executed without grieving the conscience. He thought that perhaps similar scruples would occur to the people of Nürnberg.\*

And in fact the opinions of the Nürnberg theologians were precisely those of the Saxon. They too exhorted the council to have nothing to do with the "Sacramenters."†

\* Instruction auf Herr Hansen Minkwitz Ritter gen Rotach. (Instructions sent to Master John Minkwitz, knight, at Rotach.) He was to observe whether possibly the Nürnberg delegates might not of their own accord say to him, "that they found it would be difficult for them to come into any compact with those who held Zwingli's opinion concerning the sacrament, inasmuch as they would be burthened on account of the divine word of the faith, as if this article were also founded on the divine word and the faith, which must then be received in silence against their consciences;" and then he was to say to them, "that a like difficulty and scruple had also fallen upon us since the last diet at Spire." The Recess is dated Tuesday after St. Boniface (8th June).

† Chancellor Brück said at Schmalkalden, that it all came from the counsels of Nürnberg. Strobel Miscellaneen, iv. 130.

Hence the meeting in Rotach ended in nothing beyond general assurances of mutual assistance, and preliminary promises; further deliberations were postponed till a meeting, to be held at Schwabach in the following August. This, however, never took place. It was already countermanded when the delegates from the Oberland arrived; they had made their long journey in vain.\*

Thus the same influential body—the theologians—who had put a sudden and entire check to the warlike preparations caused by Pack's intrigues, three years before, now offered a no less strenuous and successful resistance to an alliance which appeared the only safeguard from arbitrary power. The same influence which in the one case had prevented attack, now proved an equally insuperable obstacle to all measures of defence.

It is no wonder that Landgrave Philip, who had embraced the former schemes with all the ardour of his haughty and ambitious temper, was offended and grieved at the present turn of affairs. He did

\* Letter to Nürnberg, 23d August. They would privately inform their friends of the affair, although it "is quite burthen-some to us, the delegates, not only on account of our body's weakness, but of the length of the way, and the alarming gangs wandering about the country." (W. A.) A meeting at Zerbst also did not take place; it was put off because the elector "had seen good not to conclude that which he had conferred about with certain princes and states, concerning a friendly understanding, with whom those of the Magdeburg union will not enter." I find that Erich, Bishop of Paderborn and Osnabrück, who had already joined in the first protest at Spire, was also invited.



every thing in his power to keep his Saxon allies to their former resolution ; but in vain.\*

We are not to imagine from this that Landgrave Philip had emancipated himself from the spirit of his age. His disposition to concede arose from his being less firmly convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrines than his allies were.

As, however, it was no longer possible to disregard the dissensions between the two sections of reformers, it was doubly necessary to make one effort more to reconcile the contending theologians.

Landgrave Philip had already seen the urgency of this in Spires, and had written to Zwingli about it. He now sent a definitive invitation to both parties to meet at his castle of Marburg, on the Feast of St. Michael. (A.D. 1529.)

It is remarkable how differently his two invitations were received. Zwingli feared that he should be withheld from going by the Grand Council of his city ; if he announced his intentions, he thought they would hardly allow him to take so long a journey through so many doubtful or hostile territories. Without communicating his intentions even to his wife, or waiting for the expected safe conduct from Hessen, he therefore set out, with the connivance of a few members of the privy council. On the other hand, Melancthon would rather that his sovereign had forbidden him the journey altogether. Luther constantly declared

\* Reasons and counter-reasons in the letters of the elector and the landgrave. Müller, *Gesch. der Protest.* p. 256. 261.

that the conference would lead to nothing. When he had reached the Werra, it was impossible to induce him to proceed any further till he had received a safe conduct in all its forms from the landgrave.\*

On the other hand, the Swiss were filled with the most sanguine hopes; they knew that the prince at whose court they were to meet their antagonists, was entirely on their side in politics, and nearly so in religion. The Wittenberg party were sensible that they would have to contend against Philip's wishes; they were determined however not to give way, but to maintain their ground at all risks.

The two parties met therefore in a totally opposite temper of mind; and, according to the usual weakness of human nature, proceeded to act under the influence of the moment.

Yet, regarded from a higher point of view, this meeting had a sublime and most important character.

The eminent spirits who, on either side, had led the movement with such power, but between whom misunderstandings had now broken out, met together in order to endeavour to elicit by personal discussion, some means of putting an end to the quarrels which were so great an obstacle to the progress of the common cause.

In this light did Euricius Cordus regard it,

\* According to Bullinger, whose account of this conference is, generally, very remarkable, the landgrave himself observed this difference, p. 214.

when he addresses them all, "the princes of the Word," "the acute Luther, the gentle Œcolampadius, the magnanimous Zwingli, the honest Melanchthon," and the others who were come, — Schnepf, Brenz, Hedio, Osiander, Jonas, Crato, Menius, Myconius, each of whom he designates by some eulogistic epithet, and admonishes them to put an end to the new schism. "The church falls at your feet weeping, and conjures you by the bowels of Christ to take this matter in hand with genuine earnestness, for the salvation of the faithful, and to bring about a decision which the world may confess to have emanated from the Holy Ghost."\* It was an ecclesiastical council of the dissidents from catholicism. Had it succeeded, means would have been devised to maintain the unity of the new church.

Certain preliminary doubts were first satisfied. Zwingli had been accused of errors concerning the divinity of Christ. He now professed opinions in entire conformity with the Nicene creed. He also declared his complete agreement with the Wittenberg divines, on the doctrine of original sin, on which the whole scheme of redemption rests; on the efficacy of the external word; on baptism, as being not a mere symbol. It is certain that Zwingli in his endeavours to make out the meaning of scripture for himself, had departed widely from the received opinions of the church on all these

\* The poem is inserted by Melanchthon in the *Paralipomenon* to the *Chronikon Urspergense*, p. 495.

points. In this respect he, like Luther, reverted to the fundamental basis upon which the Latin church rested.\* On one point alone, the most important of all—the point which occupied universal attention,—on the question of the Eucharist, he was inflexible. Here he hoped for victory, and pleaded his cause with great vivacity and earnestness. His chief arguments were, the figurative meaning of the word *is*, in other passages; the explanation given by Christ himself, in the sixth chapter of John (concerning which, he said that “it broke Luther’s neck”—an expression the latter rather misunderstood); the consent of several fathers of the church; lastly, the impossibility that a body should be in more than one place at one time. But Luther saw written on the page before him, “This is my body.” He persisted that these were the words of God, about which there must be no quibbling, and which Satan himself could not get over; he would not now enter upon the more profound explanations with which he had previously combated the argument of locality, without which it is impossible to conceive a body; he would not endure the word “signifies,” for that made complete abstraction of the body. The difference is this: Zwingli regards the presence of Christ as connected with the bread; whereas Luther regards the bread itself as the very presence

\* Löscher, *Historia Motuum*, p. 103, examines how far the present resolutions were contradicted by former expressions of the Oberländers. Even Planck, otherwise a great champion of the Oberländers, admits that in this matter Löscher is right.

— the present body; the visible containing the invisible, as the scabbard contains the sword.\* He too understood the word *eat* in a spiritual sense, but he would not part with the mystery which is involved in the symbol. He thought that his antagonists had probably never had occasion to prove the value and efficacy of their exposition in the conflicts of the spirit; whereas he was conscious that, by the aid of his, he had fought against Satan and hell, and had found there the consolation which is able to sustain the soul in the most desperate tempests that can assail it.†

With a view to the progressive development of religious ideas, it was not, I think, to be wished that Zwingli should have given up his theory, which by continually referring to the original and historical

\* The following passage in the abstract from the records in Scultetus, p. 143, seems to me to contain one of the main points of difference: Lutherus affirmat (the subject is, the 6th chapter of John) non ipsam manducationem oralem, sed manducationis modum crassum illum, qualis est carnis suillae aut bovinæ, rejici. Oecolampadius, arrepta inde occasione, de duplici verborum Christi intelligentia disserit, humili sive carnali, et sublimi sive spirituali: humilem sive carnalem verborum Christi intellectum eum esse quem Lutherus asserat a Christo repudiatum: spiritualem sive sublimem esse illum quem Christus jusserit amplecti. Contra Lutherus fieri non posse nec debere, ut ad spiritualem tantum intellectum verba coenæ referantur, siquidem remissio peccatorum, vita aeterna ac regnum coelorum carnalibus istis ac humilibus ut appareant rebus per verbum dei annexa sint.

† Luther's Explanation, addressed to Landgrave Philip in de W. iii. p. 510.

character of the institution of the great Mystery, was of such immense importance to the whole conception of Christianity, independent of the church as actually constituted. On the points on which he yielded he was not so sure or so steadfast, but this he had thought out in all its bearings; here he was master of his subject; it contained the principle upon which his system was founded, and to this he clung with the utmost tenacity.

Just as little was it to be expected, or even desired, of Luther, that he should assent to Zwingli's exposition. His opinions on the indwelling of the divine element, generally, in the christian church, are the same as those of the catholics; only he does not recognise it in the numerous incidents handed down from fantastical or sophistical ages. As these fail to afford him the assurance he requires, he reverts to the original sources, to which the catholics also refer, and receives nothing but what he finds there. Of the seven sacraments, he retains only the two of which unquestionable mention is made in the New Testament. But to these he adheres in spite of every attempt to wrest them from him, or to detract from their mysterious import.

These are, as we have remarked, two views of the subject taken from different points, but equally inevitable.

It was enough that the two parties began to desist from their mutual outcries of heresy. Luther discovered that his antagonists did not mean so ill as he had imagined, while the Swiss abandoned

that coarse conception of Luther's scheme which they had hitherto entertained. Luther thought the violence of the polemical writings would now subside.\*

In the first place, all the more important articles of faith on which they agreed, were drawn up and signed by the theologians of both parties; the deviations from the Roman confession are carefully stated in it, as well as those from the anabaptist sects; this was a desirable basis of their common progress, and the Marburg conference will be for ever memorable and important for its establishment. The fifteenth and last of these articles relates to the Lord's Supper. They agree on the nature and mode of the solemn rite, and on its purpose, in so far that both believe that the true body and true blood of Christ are here spiritually eaten; the only point in dispute is, whether this true body is bodily in the bread. Here a freer interpretation of scripture leads to a different view of the Mystery from that adopted by the community of the church. They mutually promised that each party would treat the other with christian charity.

One point however Luther would not concede; viz., he would not extend brotherly love to the

\* Melanchthon says in the Appendix to the Chron. Ursperg : — *Triduo duravit colloquium, et durasset diutius spe uberioris tum concordiae futurae, nisi horrendus ille morbus sudatorius* — — *vocatos dispersisset.* This was inserted in Bullinger. It shows at least what an impression had been made on Melanchthon.



dissidents (that is, he would not acknowledge that the two parties formed one brotherhood).\* He thought the difference of opinion far too fundamental; the Mystery, the central point of the christian's faith and service, far too essential, to admit of such a concession.

We perceive therefore that, as far as the future was concerned, and the recognition that, in spite of their differences, they belonged essentially to the same confession, this conference was productive of important results; but for the political purposes of the moment, which Landgrave Philip had had in his eye, it effected nothing.

Indeed the very contrary of what he had aimed at came to pass.

From Marburg Luther hastened to Schleiz, where Elector John of Saxony and Markgrave George of Brandenburg were at this moment together, in order to consult with them as to the expediency of the Oberland alliance. Not only did Dr. Luther convince the princes that a perfect unity of faith was necessary to a treaty of mutual defence, but they determined mutually to confess the articles whereon this unity was founded, and to admit no one into their alliance who dissented from any one of them.† No sooner had the Oberland delegates arrived at Schwabach

\* Luther to Gerbellius, (4th Oct.): — Denuntiatur eis, nisi et hoc articulo resipiscant, charitate quidem nostra posse eos uti, sed in fratrum et Christi membrorum numero a nobis censi non posse.

† The recess of Schleiz was only oral. We see what its contents were from the instructions to the councillors of the

where a fresh conference was appointed to be held in October, than such a confession of faith was laid before them for their signature, before any further business was entered upon. These are the so called Schwabach articles, and are seventeen in number. Little acuteness is necessary to discover that they bear the strongest resemblance to the Marburg agreement. The sequence is the same in the first nine articles\*; the forms of expression are for the most part identical also; there are but few alterations, the most important among which is in the tenth article, wherein it is taught, that "the true body and blood of Christ is verily present in the bread and wine;" to which is annexed the polemical remark, that the opposite party assert them to be mere bread and wine. The Schwabach articles are a somewhat more elaborate edition of the Marburg agreement; Luther's scheme being exclusively adopted in both.† It was, of course, impossible

elector, and the markgrave of Brandenburg at the Schwabach conference. Müller, p. 281, and Walch, xvii. p. 669. First article.

\* What the Schwabach Art. viii. appears to contain over and above, is to be found in those of Marburg under the title, *De usu sacramenti*. See the printed copy of the 17 Articles in Walch, xvi. 778, and given with diplomatic accuracy in Weber's *Kritische Gesch. der Augsb. Con. V. i. Ap. 2*.

† Riederer found the following words in Veit Diedrich's handwriting on Luther's autograph preface to the 17 Articles, of the year 1530. *Praefatio ad xvii Articulos Marburgi scriptos*; and upon them founded his assertion that the 17 Articles themselves were drawn up at Marburg. Had that been the case, Luther would have brought them ready with him to

for the delegates from Ulm and Strasburg to sign this confession. They remarked that it was not in conformity with the doctrines preached among them ; that they were not apprized of the alteration, and must bring a declaration of the opinions of their constituents on the subject, to the next meeting.

It was easy to foresee that this declaration would be in the negative, and that, under these circumstances, the alliance must be abandoned.

This division took place just at the moment when the emperor manifested the most hostile disposition towards reform.

The emperor having issued a manifesto from Spain, expressive of his disapprobation of the protest, the States which had joined in it had sent a deputation to Italy, charged to justify their measures to him. Nothing, however, could be more directly hostile to their views than the Spanish catholicism which the delegates encountered in the emperor's court. The emperor only repeated his former declarations. He refused to receive the protest, and was greatly displeased when

Schleiz. In fact Luther must have been very much occupied. On the 30th of September the theologians arrived ; on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of October they debated ; on the 4th the Marburg agreement was signed ; and on the 5th he went away. The scheme there concocted does however agree pretty well with the character of the 17 articles, only they must afterwards have been revised, and rendered more distinct in some places, if what was said in Schmalkalden to the cities is true : " The articles are very well considered, and drawn up with brave counsel of learned and unlearned councillors."

the envoys laid it on the table of the secretary who was transacting business with them. The whole court was incensed at the audacity of Michael Kaden, one of the envoys, who put into the hands of the orthodox emperor, the temporal head of catholic christendom, a writing of a protestant tendency, given to him by the landgrave. The delegates were compelled to follow the court for a while as prisoners, and escaped from it only by a sort of flight.

But if any hoped that the adverse and menacing circumstances without, would have the effect of reuniting the two sections of the protestants, this hope proved utterly illusory.

At the very meeting at Schmalkalden, before which they laid the report of these circumstances (Dec. 1529), the separation between them was first rendered absolute and complete.

The seventeen articles were once more laid before the Oberländers (who were here far more numerous than at Schwabach). Ulm and Strasburg, whose example was usually followed by the others, definitively declared that they would not sign them. The Lutherans, in an equally decided manner, declared that, in that case, they could not enter into an alliance with them. Their own earnest entreaties, and the zeal with which the landgrave exerted himself in their behalf,—urging that there was nothing to be expected from the emperor but disfavour and violence,—were equally vain. The other party refused even to communicate to them

the report of the delegates, unless they would first declare their assent to the profession of faith.\*

In the course of these transactions, another question, rather of a political nature, had come under discussion.

When Luther warned his master not to enter into a league with the Oberländer, he still cherished the hope that a reconciliation with the emperor was possible. This hope was inspired by the view he took of the character of the reformation. He contemplated only its widest objects and effects—the deliverance of the secular power from the pretensions to supremacy and precedence hitherto asserted by the clergy. He represented what innumerable abuses, universally admitted and complained of, he had removed; while on the other hand, he had combatted with chivalrous valour against anabaptists and image breakers: the chief merit which he claimed however, and most justly, was, that he had revived the idea of civil supremacy and secular majesty, and had procured for it universal acceptance. He had so high an opinion of the emperor, that he was persuaded, if it were represented to him that the doctrines of Christianity were preached in greater purity in the evangelical countries than they had been for a thousand years, he must instantly see the truth. Luther was little less imbued with the idea of the Empire than with that of the Church. I do not

\* Protocol of the meeting, Sunday after St. Catherine, 1529. Strobel, iv. 113.

mean its momentary condition or aspect, but its import and essence; and he felt almost an equal pain at having to sever himself from it.

Negotiations were in fact set on foot between the elector and King Ferdinand. Ferdinand was moved to them, as he writes to his brother more than once, by his anxiety lest a movement of the protestants should ensue before his (the emperor's) arrival, which might have ruinous results; the elector, by his natural reluctance to separate himself from the head of the empire,—a reluctance which had been greatly enhanced by Luther's arguments, and which sometimes almost shook the confidence of the landgrave in his intentions. Philip once bluntly asked the elector, what he had to look to from him if he were attacked.\*

But it gradually became evident how little was to be expected from these negotiations. It was clear that the protestants would not, as the electoral prince had assumed in his project of a league, have to deal with the States alone. Even in the instructions given by the elector to his envoys to Schwabach, it was said, "the great danger will now be in the highest places."†

The further question now presented itself, how far it were generally lawful to resist the authority of the emperor. Till this was answered, all union and combination was vain, whatever might be the conformity of opinion in other respects.

\* Rommel Urkundenbuch, No. 9.

† Instructions for Schwabach. Müller, 282.

Saxony remarked with justice that, until they were agreed on this indispensable point, any alliance must be merely apparent, would inspire no confidence, and afford no security.

Did not the supreme power reside in the emperor? Were they not bound by the words of scripture, to which they were constantly appealing, to pay him unqualified obedience?

These questions were examined in Saxony itself with scrupulous earnestness. The jurists rested their arguments on the principle of law, that self defence is permitted; they justified resistance. The question was then submitted to the theologians; and, in the absence of Luther and Melanchthon, who were then at Marburg, Bugenhagen, upon whom the decision devolved, brought a theological argument to support those of the jurists. He declared that if a power, however unquestionably derived from God, set itself in opposition to God, it could no longer be regarded as the sovereign authority.

Luther, on his return, gave a totally different opinion. He thought that the maxims of law which countenanced resistance were contradicted by others which forbade it, while the latter were supported by scripture. If resistance to every prince who disobeys God's word were to be permitted, people would at last reject all authority whatever at their own discretion.

This opinion was shared by the theologians of Nürnberg. Johann Brenz gave in a report to the markgrave to that effect.

The conflict was in fact between the doctrines



of passive obedience, and of the right of resistance.

We know how greatly these doctrines, especially in their connexion with religion, contributed to the development of political theories in Europe; it is worthy of remark that they were first brought into discussion in Germany, and at so early a period.

But the time was not yet come for the vast consequences with which they were pregnant to be felt. In an other age and country they touched the vital point upon which the development of such theories entirely turns, viz: the relation between sovereign and subject: in Germany this was not even agitated; the doubt referred only to the relation of a subordinate to a supreme government; of a prince of the empire to the emperor.

In Germany the question turned upon the principles of public law peculiar to the empire, rather than upon those which are common to all states. Its real bearing was, whether the supreme power of the empire was of a monarchical or an aristocratical nature.

Luther, who saw in the imperial power the continuation of that of ancient Rome, as represented in scripture, adhered firmly to the idea of monarchy there exhibited. He compared the relation between the elector his master and the emperor, with that between a *bürgermeister* of Torgau and the elector. Brentz was of opinion that the princes were as little justified in taking arms against the emperor, as the peasants against the nobles and prelates.

These comparisons, however, clearly show how little the essential question was defined. On the other side it was contended, that there was no resemblance between the princes of Germany and the Roman prefects of the scripture; not to speak of bürgermeisters and peasants. They were subject to the emperor under certain conditions insuring their freedom and rights; with certain limitations, and according to the privileges originally granted them. Moreover, they were themselves sovereigns, and it was their duty as such to defend the gospel.\*

At the congress of Nürnberg, the chancellor of Saxony declared (but under the express proviso that it was only his personal opinion), that he was convinced of the legality of resistance to the emperor. He adduced the two arguments we have just mentioned; in the first place, that the power of the princes was no less derived from God than that of the emperor; and secondly, that if the emperor desired to compel them to return to popery, he was to be regarded in the light of an enemy, and no such compulsion was to be endured.

These arguments however found little approbation. As he was one day going to his chancery, Spengler, the secretary of the city of Nürnberg, whom we have had occasion to mention as a man

\* Answer to the scruple put forth; that no resistance may be offered to his imperial majesty. Hortleder (II. ii. 12.) places this at "about 1531;" but as it relates to the opposition experienced by the last of the protesting delegations, I incline to think it must be dated at the end of 1529, or the beginning of 1530.

of great experience in legal affairs, went up to him and accused him of error. They fell into a vehement altercation, which however they had the discretion to carry on in Latin, that it might not be understood by the bystanders.

Brandenburg was of the same mind as Nürnberg. Chancellor Vogler affirmed that his master had determined, if the emperor invaded his dominions, not to defend himself, but to bear whatever it might please God to lay upon him.

This opinion obtained permanent ascendancy, even in Saxony. Luther declared, that even if the emperor violated his oath, he was still emperor—the sovereign authority, set over them by God: if they were determined no longer to obey, they must dethrone him. But to what could it lead if they took up arms against him? Whoever conquered, must expel him and become emperor in his stead, which could be endured by no one.

The only counsel Luther could give was, that if the emperor had recourse to violence, the princes must not indeed assist him, for that would be to sin against the true faith; but they must not refuse to allow him to enter their territory, and to act there according to his will. He repeated, that if the emperor summoned him and the other reformers, they would be forthcoming; the emperor need have no anxiety on that account. For every man must hold his belief at his own risk and peril.

Thus a few months sufficed to put an end to a league which seemed destined to convulse Europe.

It was entirely dissolved. Even the territorial alliance did not seem able to afford protection against the emperor. We perceive that the several sovereigns and states thought themselves again bound to act and to suffer single handed.

It is very easy to repeat the censure that has so often been thrown upon this decision. It was certainly not the part of political prudence.

But never was a course of action more purely conscientious, more regardless of personal consequences, more grand and magnanimous.

These noble men saw the enemy approach ; they heard his threats ; they were under no illusion as to his views ; they were almost persuaded that he would attempt the worst against them.

They had an opportunity of forming a league against him which would shake Europe, at the head of which they might oppose a formidable resistance to his projects of universal domination, and make an appeal to fortune ; but they would not—they disdained the attempt.

Not out of fear or mistrust of their own strength and valour ; —these are considerations unknown to souls like theirs. They were withheld by the power of Religion alone.

First, because they would not mix up the defence of the faith with interests foreign to it, nor allow themselves to be hurried into things which they could not foresee.

Secondly, they would defend no faith but that which they themselves held ; they would have feared to commit a sin if they connected themselves

with those who differed from them ;—on one point only, it is true, but that one of the highest importance.

Lastly, they doubted their right to resist their sovereign and head, and to trouble the long-established order of the empire.

Thus, in the midst of the jarring interests of the world, they took up a position counselled only by God and their own consciences, and there they calmly awaited the danger. “For God is faithful and true,” says Luther, “and will not forsake us.” He quotes the words of Isaiah, “Be ye still and ye shall be holpen.”

Unquestionably this is not prudent, but it is great.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE OTTOMANS BEFORE VIENNA.

THE results of the two diets of 1526 and 1529 were not less diametrically opposed than were their decrees.

The former led the evangelical party, protected and sanctioned by the empire, to lay the great foundations of their future existence; the latter not only withdrew this protection, but at the same time divided their body.

The discord which had arisen since the publication of the regulations of Nürnberg, had now become an open breach.

I think we shall be justified in affirming that the contrast in the consequences of the two diets, with relation to foreign affairs, was not less complete.

At the diet of 1526, the house of Austria having sanctioned the progress of the evangelical party, was requited by that cordial assistance of the German nation, which secured to it the supreme power over Italy and Hungary. It was not to be expected that after this house had taken so entirely different a direction, it would receive the same support from the affections of the nation.

“I have heard,” says Daniel Mieg (who had been excluded from the Council of Regency) to the Altmammeister of Strasburg, “that his Majesty has

applied for powder: my advice is, not to grant it, since such an affront has been offered us. It were good that we kept our money and our powder too; we shall want them ourselves." \*

The conduct of the house of Austria—its schemes of conquest and aggrandisement — had already excited universal anxiety; people had no desire to lend it any serious assistance. An assessor of the Council of Regency, Hammann von Holzhusen, delegate from Frankfurt — a city so conspicuous for its loyalty to the imperial house — remarks, "that many of the states, whether they be Lutheran or not, do not know what they have to expect from Austria; they are afraid the assistance they afford may in the end be turned to the detriment of the empire and the nation." †

\* Saturday before Jubilate, 1529. Jung, Beil. No. 37.

† Spires, Oct. 9. "E. W. werden auch fleissik bedenken und ermassen die schwinnen (geschwinden) läuf und brattig (Practiken) so in etlich Jaren vorhanden gewest und noch sint, also, das alle Chur und Fürsten, geistlich und weltlich, auch ander Prälaten, Herrn, und Städt, sie seyen lotters (lutherisch) wie man denn die nennen will oder nit, nit wol wissen mögen, wes sie sich versehen sollen, und also das dieselbig Hilf, so gemelt mein gnst. und gn. Herrn, Chur und Fürsten, auch andre Stende und Stet thun werden, dem hilligen Reich und Teutzer Nation und inen selber zu grossen unüberwindlichen Schaden und nachtail reichen und kommen moge." — "Your worships will also carefully consider and ponder the rapid course and practice [of what, is not said] that for some years have taken place and still exist; also, that all electors and princes, be they Lutheran, as people are pleased to call them, or not, know not what to provide, and also that the same succours which are demanded of my most gracious lords, electors and princes, will be granted by other estates and cities, to the great and irreparable



A little later we find letters circulating in Hungary, in which the impossibility of Ferdinand's defending Hungary is inferred from the religious quarrels in which he was involved with the magnates of Germany.\*

Such was the state of the public mind when the most powerful enemy the empire had encountered for centuries, the representative of another world, the rival and the implacable foe of christendom, appeared on its frontiers.

It was just about this time that one Katib, learned in the law, asserted in Constantinople, that the prophet Jesus was to be preferred before the prophet Mohammed. The Divan before whom this innovator was accused, sought in vain to confute him, nor was the mufti, to whom the matter was then referred, more successful; he, however, tried and sentenced him to death. This sentence was entirely agreeable to the opinions of the Sultan.

Katib refused to recant, and suffered death for the name of Jesus, in the middle of the mosque.

Suleiman's highest ambition was to be regarded as the prophet's vicegerent on earth. He was the first of the Ottoman Sultans who raised Mecca into

prejudice and damage of the holy empire, German nation, and themselves." He proposes a meeting of the cities, "in order to have discourse and counsel concerning this and other things, to agree upon an opinion and what is to be done herein, and what answer to be given."

\* Katona xx. i. p. 634. Rex Ferdinandus propter dis-sensionem suam cum imperio et aliis magnatibus Alemanniae propter fidem, nullum habere potest populum.

consideration ; it was he who built the sacred house of the Kaaba, restored the mosque of Chadidscha, constructed aqueducts, and established colleges. " I, whose power is sustained by the grace of the Almighty, by the blessing of the greatest of his prophets, by the protection of the first four of his favoured disciples ; I, the shadow of God over both worlds "— such was his manner of describing himself in a letter to the king of France. His pretensions were in harmony with these titles. " Dost thou not know," said his son-in-law, Mustapha (A. D. 1528) to Lasky, " that our Lord is next to Allah ? That as there is only one sun in the heavens, so also there is only one lord upon earth ? "

At a time when peace was yet unconcluded in Europe, when he might expect to find the whole combined opposition to Charles V. in full activity, on the 4th of May, 1529, Suleiman set out with an army which has been reckoned at 250,000 men, to wage a holy war. Before him, the Hospodar of Moldavia invaded Transylvania, and put to rout the followers of Ferdinand. Next, John Zapolya descended the Karpathians with the small troop that had collected around him ; he had the good fortune to meet with Ferdinand's party in Hungary, before they were joined by the Germans, and to defeat them ; he met and joined the Sultan on the battle-field of Mohacz. Suleiman asked him what had induced him to come to him, notwithstanding the difference of their faith. " The Padischah," answered John, " is the refuge of the world and

his servants are innumerable, both moslems and unbelievers." Zapolya, repulsed by the pope and by christendom, fled to the protection of the Sultan. This need of others for momentary protection had made the Ottoman empire what it was.

In Hungary, Suleiman experienced little or no resistance. The Austrian government did not dare to call out the light cavalry; it feared, in the unfavourable state of the public mind, that this might lead to disturbances. But it was wholly incapable of defending the country by its own resources. The commander of the fleet, who owed his men 40,000 guld., had the greatest difficulty in getting together 800. Means were not forthcoming even to garrison the fortresses.

Suleiman's wezir laughed at the princes of the West, who were forced to extort money from the wretched peasants before they could make war; he pointed to the seven towers, in which his master had gold and silver lying in vast heaps, while his word was sufficient to place a countless army in the field.

It is little wonder that, under these circumstances, the strong party that adhered to Zapolya was completely triumphant. The magnates—the Hungarian Beys, as they are called in Suleiman's journal—rivalled each other in the alacrity with which they repaired to his camp to kiss his hand. Peter Pereny endeavoured at least to rescue the holy crown for Austria; but he was attacked on the road by the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, a kinsman of Zapolya's, who took him prisoner with all the

regalia, and carried them to the Ottoman camp.\* The extraordinary veneration with which the Hungarians regard their crown is well known. They believe it to have been sent down from heaven, and affirm that, at the sight of it, drawn swords have leaped back into their scabbards. "The loadstone does not more strongly attract the iron," says Rewa, "than the crown does the reverence of the Hungarians, and they hold it to be their duty to escort it whithersoever it may be borne, without heeding cost or danger."† The Turkish notion was, that it had been handed down from Nuschirwan the Just; and this palladium, in which the Hungarians beheld a divine symbol of their nationality and their kingdom, was now in Suleiman's camp, and accompanied his army.

In this universal defection, it could hardly be expected that the German garrisons would be able to defend the few strong places they still occupied. There were about 700 newly raised landsknechts under colonel Besserer, in Ofen, who held out against several assaults; but when the city was taken, and the castle of St. Gerhardsberg, which commanded it, was nearly in ruins, they despaired of being able to resist the enemy's fire with their long lances, and held themselves justified in consulting their own safety; they forced

\* Zermegh, *Historia rerum inter Johannem et Ferdinandum gestarum*. Schwandtner, ii. lib. i. § 12.

† Rewa, *De sacra corona regni Hungariae*; Schwandtner, ii. 456. See Tuberonis *Commentarii*. Ibid. 113, 114.

their leader to capitulate. But they knew not the enemy with whom they had to deal: Ibrahim Pacha promised, in the most solemn manner, that they should march out free; they had not reached the gates of Ofen when they were all cut to pieces.\*

From this moment the barbarian torrent rolled unresisted towards the German frontier: "towards a land," says the Ottoman historian, "which had never yet been trodden by the hoof of a Moslem steed.

The mighty power of the East, erected on kingdoms the civilisation of which was either in the state of undeveloped infancy or of semi-barbarised decay, here first came in contact with the very

\* The groundlessness of the somewhat dramatic and dressed-out lamentations of Ursinus Velius (lib. vi.)—that the Landsknechts had, on this occasion, forgotten the old German valour—which have found their way into modern histories, appears, the moment we recur to some simpler statement; as, for example, that of the tutor of the pages (Pagenhofmeister) in Schardius iii., 238:—"Arx ad voluptatem magis quam vim instructa erat," etc.: or that of Sebast Frank (which is, by the by, identical with a pamphlet of that time) p. 256., where he says, the castle was garrisoned by four companies (Fähnlein), "die nitt so vil man oder einzelich personen vermochten, als der Türk tausend; noch hat er eilf gewaltiger sturm davon verloren, dass er meynet es weren eitel Teufel im Schloss."—"who were not so many men, or single persons strong, as the Turks were thousands; yet were these repulsed in eleven violent assaults, so that they thought there were nothing but devils in the castle." "Wo die nit gewest," adds Pessel, "wer vielleicht die Stat Wien übereilet worden."—"Had they not been there, the city of Vienna would perhaps have been taken." "Achthundert frummer deutscher knecht, Die hielten sich redlich und recht;" says the song of Soltau, p. 337.

heart of western life, where the unceasing progression of the human mind had taken root, and was in full activity.

No sooner had they set foot in Germany, than the Ottomans found they had a different foe before them from any they had yet encountered.

They describe it as a country of Giaours (they make no distinctions between infidels), a woody land, difficult to traverse; but they remark that it is peculiarly illumined by the torches of unbelief; inhabited by a warlike people, marching under fierce banners, and defended on all sides by castles, cities, and walled churches; they are struck with the fact that as soon as they had passed the frontier, they found every necessary of daily life in the greatest abundance.\* They felt the presence of a people thoroughly imbued with civilisation, surrounded with the comforts of a long-settled population, brave and religious.

Ibrahim told the Austrian ambassadors the following year, that the warning they had sent the Sultan, not to advance further, for that Ferdinand their lord stood ready, sword in hand, to receive him, had served only to enflame Suleiman with fresh ardour to seek him out. He had expected to find him in Ofen, where he thought a king of Hungary ought to hold his seat; but in this he had been disappointed. He had then advanced to the

\* Ssoloksade in Hammer, Wiens erste türkische Belagerung, p. 101. See Suleiman's Journal, 22d Sept., Osman. Gesch. iii. 650.

Austrian frontier, where he thought Ferdinand would wait for him; on the contrary, the keys of Bruck were carried out to meet him on his approach. Thus he reached Vienna, but there, too, he found neither Ferdinand nor his army; he only learned that the king had fled to Linz or Prague. At the sight of Vienna, so beautifully surrounded by vineyards and mountains, and yet lying in the midst of a fertile plain, he said that here he would rest; this was a place worthy of an emperor; he had spread out his skirts (*i. e.* he had allowed his light troops to disperse on all sides), to show that the real emperor was come in his might.\*

Such is the description of the event, given by Suleiman himself in a letter to Venice. He relates how he had taken Ofen, and made himself master of Hungary, and given it to King John; and how the ancient crown of that kingdom had fallen into his hands. "My purpose, however," he says, "was not to seek these things, but to encounter King Ferdinand."† He told the first German prisoners that were brought him, that he would seek out Ferdinand, even if he were in the centre of Germany.

On the 20th September, he arrived before Vienna, and pitched his camp there. From the lofty tower of St. Stephen's church nothing was to be descried for miles, over hill and dale, but tents, and the Danube covered with Turkish sails. The place is

\* Lamberg und Jurischitsch in Gevay, 1530, p. 36. In Latin, agreeing in the main, but with some peculiarities, p. 80.

† Copia della lettera del Sultan Solimano. Belgr. 9th Nov. Hammer, Belagerung, p. 77.



still pointed out near Sömmering, where Suleiman's own tent stood, the internal magnificence of which may be inferred from the golden balls and tassels with which its exterior was decorated. He encamped in the same order as he had marched. The troops from the Porte immediately surrounded him; behind him lay the Anatolian army under its Beglerbeg, extending as far as Schwechat; before him, the Seraskier Ibrahim, with the European Sipahis, the Rumeliotcs and Bosniaks, and the Sandschaks of Mostar and Belgrade. For, in a country where the state is nothing else but the army, the distribution of the camp represents that of the empire. The Hungarians, who rivalled the other subjects of Suleiman in their zeal "to adorn themselves with the collar of obedience," already found their place in this great assemblage. It consisted of western Asia and eastern Europe, in the form they had assumed, and were still assuming, under the influence of conquering Islam; they now made their first attempt on the heart of christian Europe. The light troops ascended the Danube in search of the fabulous bridge of the horned Alexander — the boundary of the fantastic world of oriental mythology. The beast of burthen of the Arabian desert was driven up to the walls of a German city, laden with provisions and munitions of war;—there were 22,000 camels in the camp. The memory of those who fell before Vienna is still celebrated with oriental pomp. Putschewi says in his history, speaking of Iskender-tschausch Farfara, that "immediately on his arrival

here, he drank of the cup of Islamite martyrdom, and forgot the world." For the Turkish army believed itself to be waging a holy war against "the infidels who were like dust before it." In full view of the grandest castle of the latest German emperors, the doctrine of the sublime Porte was proclaimed; that, as there was only one God in heaven, there must be only one lord on earth: and Suleiman gave it to be understood that he was this lord; he declared that he would not lay his head to rest till he had reduced christendom to subjection with his sword. It was rumoured that he reckoned on a three years' absence from Constantinople for the execution of this design.

Europe was not so dull of apprehension as not to feel the magnitude of the danger.

It was a crisis like that when the Arabians had got possession of the Mediterranean, conquered Spain, and pressed on towards France; or like that when the Mongolian power, after overwhelming the north-east and south-east of Europe, attacked christian Germany on the Danube and the Oder. Europe was evidently now stronger; it was conscious that it possessed the power "to drive these devils (so they were called) out of Greece;" but the necessary union seemed impossible.

There is a letter of Francis I., of this period, in which he declares, that he would now put in execution the purpose he had always cherished, of devoting all the powers of his kingdom and his person to the war against the Turks; he hoped to move his brother of England to do the same; he

thought that he could then bring 60,000 men into the field — a force that certainly was not to be dispised. He expresses himself with such warmth that he appears to be really in earnest ; but he adds a condition which nullifies the whole. He proposes that the emperor should remit one of the two millions which he was bound by treaty to pay him — a proposition to which nobody could expect the emperor to accede.\*

The imperial court, too, where the danger was still more urgent, and where the Ottoman maxim, that every country through which the Sultan marched belonged to him, became of terrible practical importance, was employed in devising means for rousing the whole of christendom to arms. The expedient suggested is very remarkable. Hoogstraten, the leading minister in the Netherlands, once opened himself on the subject to the French ambassador. He said, the true way of resisting the Turks was to bring the pope to consent to a universal scheme of secularisation. A third of the church property, sold to the highest bidders, would suffice to bring an army into the field, capable of driving out the Turks and reconquering Greece.†

\* Lettres de Gilles de Pommeraye, MS. Bethune 8619. En cas que led. empereur, pour m'ayder à souldoyer les gens que je menerois en ma compaignie, me voulust sur lesd. 2 millions d'escus en rabattre ung million, je me faisois fort, etc.

† Que ces deux princes conduisissent le pape jusques à ce point que 1° il se contente de ce qu'il a, 2° qu'il permette qu'à l'église des six mille duc. de rente on preigne les deux universellement par toute la Chretienté: les quelles seront vendus

It is only necessary to look at these propositions, in order to see their impracticability; to see how impossible it was to carry through an undertaking burthened with conditions so remote and visionary.

If Germany meant to defend itself, it was evident that it must look to its own resources alone.

But even here things wore a very doubtful aspect. It was a question whether there were not people so dissatisfied with the existing order of things, as to wish even for Turkish rule. Luther himself had once said that it was not the duty of a christian to resist the Turks, whom he ought rather to regard as the scourge of God: this indeed was one of the sentences condemned in the papal bull. And now the results of the diet of Spires were calculated to excite the alarm of all the adherents of a reform in the church, and, as we have seen, to incline them to question whether they ought to afford assistance to Ferdinand — the head of the very majority by which their own just demands had been rejected.

As to Luther, it is true that he used the expression just quoted; but in this passage he speaks only of christians, as such; — of the religious principle abstracted from all other considerations, such as it is exhibited in some passages of the gospel. His indignation and disgust had been excited by the hypocritical outcry for war against the Turks,

au plus offrant, et avec l'argent que les princes fourniront (for they were to do something) sera suffisant pour deloger ce diable de la Grèce, qui seroit grandement accroistre l'eglise d'y adjoindre un tel pays que celui là. Lettre de Pommeraye, 17 Sept.

for the sake of the christian religion, and the appeals to the faithful for contributions which were applied to very different purposes.\* In short, he utterly abjured warlike Christianity; he would not bring religion into so close a connexion with the sword. But when it came to be a question of real danger, and of aiding the efforts of the civil power to resist that danger, he declared in the most emphatic manner, that it was a positive duty to oppose the progress of the Turks. For that cause was the empire entrusted to the emperor; he and the princes would otherwise be guilty of the blood of their subjects, which God would require at their hands. He thinks it strange, that the assembly at Spires was so much troubled whether people ate meat in Lent, or whether a nun got married, while it let the Turk advance, and conquer cities and countries at his pleasure. He calls on the princes no longer to regard the banner of the emperor merely as a piece of silk, but to follow it, as was their duty, to the field. With a view to convert those who wished for the government of the Turks, he takes the trouble to set forth all the abominations of the Koran. He exhorts the people to march forth boldly in the name of the emperor; "he who

\* "Therefore they should desist from urging and goading, as the emperor and princes have been hitherto urged, to the conflict with the Turks, on the plea that, being the head of christendom, the protector of the church, and defender of the faith, he ought to extirpate the religion of the Turks. Vom Kriege wider die Türken. Published about Easter, 1529. Altenb. iv., 525.

dies in the performance of this duty," says he, "will be well pleasing to God."

In treating of this great peril of the German nation, we may be permitted to record the opinion of the man whose voice was at the time more potential than any other. The address on the Turkish war exhibits, in all its penetrating acuteness, the spirit whose grand task it was to separate the ecclesiastical and temporal elements.

So much at least he effected, that the protesters, though in actual dread of war and violence on the part of the majority, and though they had not assented to the resolutions of the diet, made the same preparations for the defence of the country as the others. Even Elector John sent several thousand men into the field under the command of his son.\*

From every side succours hurried to join the general-in-chief of the empire, Count Palatine Frederic, who meanwhile had come up with King Ferdinand at Linz.†

These troops were, however, far from being strong enough to attack the Ottoman camp, especially during the first panic. The emperor, who heard in Genoa that Suleiman was not coming thither, did not find himself in a condition to hasten with his Spaniards to the assistance of Vienna, as he had promised.

For the present, therefore, all depended on the

\* Spalatin Vita Johannis Electoris in Mencken ii. 1117.

† Hubert Thomas Leodius de vita Friderici p. 119, literally transcribed in Melchior Soiter de Vinda Bellum Pannonicum lib. i. Schardius iii. p. 250.

ability of the garrison of Vienna to resist the barbarians.

It is worth our while to pause a moment over the particulars of this siege, which at the time engrossed the attention of the world, and was indeed pregnant with the most important consequences. Had Suleiman conquered Vienna, he would have found means to fortify it in such a manner that it would not have been easy to recover it from his grasp. From this admirable post, he would have commanded the whole territory of the Middle Danube.

Nor are we to imagine that Vienna was a very strong place. It was surrounded by a ruinous wall, without any of the defences contrived by the modern art of fortification; without even bastions upon which artillery commanding the enemy's camp could have been planted. The ditches were without water. The commanders of the army of Lower Austria had at first doubted whether they could defend the "wide-spread, uncultivated spots;" for a moment they thought they would rather await the enemy in the open field, so that, in case of need, they could fall back upon the fresh troops which the count palatine and the king were busied in collecting; at last, however, they had come to the conclusion that they must not surrender their ancient capital, and had resolved to burn the suburbs, in order to preserve the city within the walls.

But though the fortifications were feeble, Maximilian's passion for gunnery now, so long after



his death, stood his capital in good stead. Not only in the citadel, and behind the loop-holes which had been pierced in the walls, but on all the towers of the city gates, on the houses, on the walls (which were first unroofed) under the roofs, nay, in the very dormitories of the convents, falconets, culverins, mortars, nightingales, and other kinds of artillery stood ready to receive the enemy's assault.

The garrison consisted of five regiments; four German (two of which were raised at the cost of the empire, and two by Ferdinand himself) and one Bohemian. The troops of the empire, under count palatine Philip, Frederic's lieutenant, occupied the wall from the Red Tower to the Carinthian gate; from hence the king's troops under Eck von Reischach and Leonhard von Fels, extended to the Scots' gate. They were people of every variety of German race; among them many eminent Austrians, besides Brabanters, Rhinelanders, men of Meissen and of Hamburg, and especially Franconians and Swabians; we find captains from Memmingen, Nürnberg, Ansbach, and Bamberg; a master of the watch from Gelnhausen; the Schultheiss (magistrate) of the whole army was from Frundsberg, territory of Mindelheim, and the chief provost from Ingoldstadt. The Bohemians occupied the ground from the Scots' gate to the Red Tower. A few parties of horsemen were posted about on the open places within the city, under the excellent captains Nicolas von Salm, William von Rogendorf, and Hans Katzianer. There might be sixteen or seventeen thousand men in all.

Whether these troops would be able to resist an enemy so enormously superior in numbers, was however very doubtful.

Suleiman sent a message to the garrison, promising that if they would surrender the city to him, he would neither enter it himself, nor allow any of his troops to do so, but would continue his march in search of the king. But if they refused, he was well assured that on the third day from the present (Michaelmas day) there would be no dinner eaten in Vienna; on that day, he would not spare the babe in its mother's womb.

According to the ballads and tales of the time, the answer of the garrison was, that he might come to dinner when he would, they would dress it for him with culverines and halberts. But this is not true. Their minds were not sufficiently at ease to send so bold and haughty a reply. "The answer," says an authentic report of the general, "stuck in our pen." They made the most earnest preparations for defence, but by no means with the persuasion that they should conquer. They saw the extent of the danger, but were determined to brave it.\*

Suleiman had therefore no other alternative than to take the city by force.

First, the janissaries posted themselves, with their battle-axes and firelocks, behind the walls of

\* Journal of the siege: Hammer, p. 66. Clearly an official report, as the postscript and the whole form show; drawn up on the 19th October.

the ruined suburbs; they were excellent marksmen, and had with them a company of expert archers; no one could venture to appear on the walls or battlements, for the assailants commanded the whole circuit of the town, and the gables of the nearer houses bristled with arrows.

Amidst the dust and noise caused by this discharge of weapons, the Ottomans now prepared a very different attack. Whoever was their master, — whether, as it was said, an Armenian, or of what other nation, — it is certain that one of the most formidable of their arts of besieging was the undermining of the walls.\* The men of the West were astonished when they afterwards beheld these mines, with entrances as narrow as a door, and gradually widening; not like the mines they were accustomed to work for metals, but smooth, regular, spacious caverns, so constructed that the walls must fall inwards. The Turks had but little artillery, and this was the art which they now brought to bear upon Vienna. But they had here to do with a people well skilled in subterranean works. The garrison soon perceived the enemy's designs; vessels of water and drums were placed so as to betray the slightest motion of the earth; romantic stories are still told how people watched

\* At a later period Marsigli took great pains to ascertain the proceedings of the Turks on this occasion. See *Stato militare degli Ottomanni*, ii, c. xi. p. 37. The corps of the Lagumdshi — miners — received fiefs, not pay, and were therefore held in greater honour. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung der Osm.* ii, 233.

and listened in every cellar and underground room, and countermined accordingly. It was a sort of subterranean war. On the 2d of October a half-finished mine of the enemy's was found and destroyed. Another was soon after discovered, at the very moment when they were beginning to fill it with powder. The miners sometimes came so near that they could hear each other work; the Turks then turned in another direction. In order at all events to secure the Carinthian gate, the Germans thought it necessary to surround it with a ditch of sufficient depth; but this, of course, was not possible in all places.

On the 9th of October, the Turks succeeded in blowing up a considerable portion of the wall between the Carinthian gate and the citadel, and at the same moment they rushed to the storm amidst the wildest battle-cries.

But the besieged were already prepared. Eck von Reischach, who had learned at Pavia how to receive an assault, had described to his people the rush and shouts of a storming party, and how it was to be met. We are told by a contemporary, that Reischach's instructions gave his young landsknechts "a brave and manly heart;" it is certain that they stood admirably. They answered the Ottoman war-cry with a tremendous, "Come on!" (*Her!*) Halberts, firelocks, and cannon supported each other with the best results. "The balls of the carronades and muskets," says Dschelalsade, "flew like flocks of small birds through the air; it was a banquet at which the genii of Death filled the glasses."

The German accounts dwell particularly on the valour displayed by the aged Salm, the commander of the army of Lower Austria, at this moment.\* The Ottomans sustained such a murderous loss, that they were compelled to retreat. The ruined walls were instantly restored as far as possible.

But the enemy sought to repair this check by an attack on the other side of the Carinthian gate. After many false alarms, he blew up a considerable portion of the wall leading to the Stubenthor, and immediately made another attempt at storming. His columns were now more closely formed. The Asafs and Janissaries had been re-inforced by Sipahis of Albanian origin, from Janina and Awlona; armed with their crooked sabres and small shields, they rushed forward in the van of the other troops, over the prostrate walls. But here Eck von Reischach, with four small companies of intrepid landsknechts, threw himself in their way. He was supported, as at Pavia, by Spanish soldiers, skilled in the use of fire-arms†; and by field marshal William von Rogendorf. They fought hand to hand, and the long battle-swords which the Germans wielded with both hands, mingled clashing with the Turkish scimetars. A Turkish historian describes the fires which flashed from the encounter. Thrice did the Ottomans renew the

\* Especially in the Journal in Anton, p. 34; concerning Reischach, see p. 32, 4th October.

† See especially the first Venetian Report in Hammer, p. 158; he mentions Rogendorf, Erich de Rays, et alcuni nobili con 4 bandiere de fanti insieme cum li Spagnoli.

assault. Jovius, who described so many battles, remarks that hardly had this century witnessed a sterner encounter.\* But all the efforts of the Ottomans were vain; they sustained far heavier losses now than before.

This reverse entirely damped their courage.

On the 12th October they again overthrew a part of the city wall; but when they saw the Germans and Spaniards with their banners displayed on the other side, they did not venture to advance.

Already had the notion gained ground in the Ottoman camp that, in the decrees of the Most High, the conquest of Vienna was not for the present destined to Islam. The nights were unusually cold for the season, and the mountains were covered in a morning with hoar frost†; they thought with anxiety on the length and danger of the way back, and remembered that no preparation was made for the three years' absence of which Suleiman had spoken. Added to this, there were rumours of approaching relief. An army of the hereditary subjects of Austria was assembling in Moravia, while armaments were actively making in the circles of the Swabian league. Schärtlin boasts what admirable soldiers he recruited in Würtemberg. Count Palatine Frederic, who had remained in the neighbourhood of Vienna, assumed a more

\* Jovius, 28, 69, generally follows private accounts. The mention of the Count of Oettingen shows that he speaks of the 11th of October.

† *Pomis uvisque immaturis vescebantur : equi strictis arborum frondibus et vitium pampinis tolerabantur.* Ursinus Velius.

menacing attitude. The peasants had already begun successfully to resist the bands of skirmishers. Suleiman perceived what would be his position if he were attacked here, in a hostile country, without any fortified places and in the bad season, by an enemy whose valour he had now learned to appreciate. He determined to make one last attempt on Vienna, and if that failed, immediately to raise the siege and retreat. He chose a day which he regarded as lucky, the 14th of October, —the day on which the sun enters the Scorpion. Exactly at noon he assembled a large part of his army within sight of the walls. Tschausche proclaimed rewards, mines were sprung, breaches opened, and the signal for storming was given. But the soldiers had lost all confidence; they were driven forward almost by force, and then came within range of the guns on the walls, so that whole ranks fell without even seeing the enemy. Towards evening a band was seen to advance from the vineyards, and instantly to retire again.\*

\* “Sie haben kurz den Fuxen nicht wöllen beissen” (in short they would not bite the fox), says the official report (Hammer p. 68.) which is written with the joyous humour of a victorious soldier. Hans Sachs says in his *Historia der türkischen Belagerung der Statt Wien, und handlung beyder theil, auf das kürzest ordenlich begriffen* (Thl. i. 208),

“Da sach man naus auf manchem thurn,  
Das die Türken getrieben wurn,  
Von iren waschen mit gewalt,  
Mit saybeln prügeln jung und alt,  
Aus iren hütten und gezelten,  
Aus den weinbergen und den welden,



Hereupon a general retreat began: the Anatolians now formed the main guard; in the night the Sultan himself struck his tent; the janissaries set fire to their encampments in the suburbs, and hastened to accompany their lord. A few days afterwards Ibrahim followed with the rest of the European troops.

It was the first time that an enterprise of the victorious sultan had so totally failed. He now perceived that he was not, so absolutely as his poets boasted, "the gold in the mine of the world—the soul in the body of the world;"\* that there were other vigorous and invincible forces besides himself, and beyond his power to subdue.

For the moment, however, he had reason to console himself; he had wrested Hungary from the Germans. John Zapolya received the sacred crown from the hands of the Ottoman authorities; though called king, he was in fact only a lieutenant of the sultan.

It might have been thought that Ferdinand would take advantage of the disorder of this retreat, and of the army collected for the relief of Vienna, to reconquer the kingdom; and in fact

Das sie anlaufen stürmen solten,  
Das sie sich ärsten und nit wolten."

"Then the people saw from many a tower that the Turks were driven with force from their watches, young and old, with blows of sabres, out of their huts and their tents, out of the vineyards and woods; that they should [were ordered to] rush to the assault, and that they halted and would not."

\* Baki's Kasside, translated by Hammer, p. 7.

the frontier towns, Altenburg, Trentschin, &c. fell into his hands; but the Castle of Gran held out, and the troops which came up were far too weak to recover Ofen.\* The cause of this failure is evident enough;—the king had no money. It would have required at least 20,000 gulden to set the troops in motion; he could raise only 1400 gulden (and even that sum in base coin), and a few thousand gulden worth of cloth. The discontent was universal. The Tyrolese, who were urgently entreated to take part in this enterprise, had unanimously refused; the people flatly declared they had no mind to serve any longer.† Suleiman, on retiring from before Vienna, had rewarded the janissaries for their efforts, however unsuccessful, with rich gifts; while the landsknechts, who had so gallantly and so successfully defended the city, were not paid even the storming money (*Sturm-sold*) to which they had a sort of right. The consequence was, a violent mutiny broke out among them. Such being the state of things in the imperial army, their adversaries in Hungary were soon predominant. In the upper districts we find several German captains of note (especially that Nickel Minkwitz, who gave the Elector of Brandenburg so much trouble) in the service of Zapolya; from Kesmark he traversed the country and set fire to Leuts-

\* Ursinus Velius lib. viii.

† Instructions of the military commissaries in Presburg for Count Nicolas zu Salm the younger, imperial councillor and chamberlain to King Ferdinand: Hormayr, Taschenbuch auf 1840, p. 506.

chau.\* Meanwhile the Turks made an irruption over the Bosnian frontier, and Croatia was in danger of falling into their hands; a disaster, the consequences of which extended even to the remoter parts of the country. In Bohemia, Zapolya had so many warm supporters, even among the most considerable men of the kingdom, that when Ferdinand went to Prague, at the end of January, 1530, he came to the conviction that he must get rid of all those who had any share in the government, if he meant to be master of the country.† This disastrous state of things, however, only proves more strongly the immeasurable importance of the defence of Vienna.

The emperor advised his brother to conclude a truce with the sultan; since, at this moment, their combined forces were not sufficient to confront him, and no other prince would afford them assistance.

Nay, even in Italy, he had felt the re-action consequent on the triumphs of the Ottoman arms.

\* Sperfogel, and the journal of Pastor Moller of Leutschau, whose own full barns were set on fire, Katona xx. l. p. 540. 546. Minkwitz is here called Nicolaus Mynkowitz; he went soon after from Kesmark to Ofen.

† Letter from Ferdinand to Charles, 21st January, 1530, in Gevay, p. 68. Entre tant que ils ont le gouvernement, je ne saroie avoir obeissance ne poroie meintenir la justice.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CHARLES V. IN ITALY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the numerous victories obtained by Charles V., notwithstanding their sudden abandonment (contrary to all promise), by Francis I., the Italian states were still in a condition to oppose a formidable resistance to the imperial arms.

Venice was in possession of her entire *Terra firma*, some towns in the States of the Church, and several strong places in the Neapolitan territory, which she successfully defended: she kept a noble army in the field, which, if it had won no celebrated victory, had never been beaten; under the conduct of a leader who knew how to satisfy the cautious and jealous senate, and, at the same time, to maintain his own reputation. Her naval power too was in a flourishing condition; an expedition was preparing in Corfu which was to make a descent on the Neapolitan coast at Brindisi.

The duke of Milan, in spite of long and ruinous wars, still held possession of the greater part of his country, and (besides some less considerable) was master of the strongest places at that time in Italy—Cremona, Lodi and Alessandria.

It was hardly to be supposed that the duke of Ferrara, who had defended a territory fortified

by nature and art, against innumerable attacks, would not now be able to repel his enemies.

Florence was governed by a party resolved to maintain their liberties even by a struggle for life and death; Michel Angelo Buonarotti, himself a member of it, fortified the city with a fertility of invention and a skill in the execution, which, a century and a half later, excited the admiration of a Vauban\*; a sort of levy *en masse* was organised throughout the territory. The Florentines were already in alliance with Perugia, which they hoped to get completely into their hands. They were also on tolerably good terms with Siena, which was, like Florence†, oppressed by the pope.

The States of the Church and Naples were still in a state of universal disquiet and ferment.

How often had Italy offered successful resistance to warlike emperors, who crossed the Alps with far more powerful armies than that at the disposal of Charles, even though they were supported by a party in the country! Even when an emperor had gained a firm footing there, this had only served to unite all parties in Italy in a common effort to drive him back. Neither valour nor talent, neither Frederic I. nor Frederic II., had been able to give stability and permanence to their domination.

And now came this youthful emperor, whose pale face and feeble voice—whose frame graceful

\* Vasari Vita di Buonarotti. (Vite d. Pitt. X., 110.)

† Relatio n. v. Antonii Suriani de legatione Florentina 1529. Et però cum questo fondamento de inimicitia con il papa, queste repubbliche hanno trattato insieme qualche intelligentia.

and healthy, but far from robust, gave him rather the air of a courtier than a warrior — who had never seen a serious battle — and were they to submit to him ?

The chief circumstance in his favour was, that he was closely united with the pope, in consequence of the affairs of Florence. On his arrival at Venice, the Florentines sent an embassy to him, but of course with limited powers ; since they were determined at all events to maintain their actual constitution. The emperor answered, that they must, in the first place, recall the Medici, and restore them to the rank they held before their last expulsion.\* The young Alessandro, whom he destined to be his son-in-law and ruler of Florence, was already in his train.† Moreover, he could not endure a government which had always leaned to the Guelph and French party. Until, however, this affair was settled, the emperor was completely sure of the pope, who entertained a passionate hatred of the enemies of his house in Florence.

It might possibly occur to Charles V. that he

\* According to Jacopo Pitti, *Apologia de capucci*, a MS. full of excellent information, the ambassadors had the “segreta commissione, di non pregiudicare nè alla libertà nè al dominio : il che notificato con piu segretezza a Cesare, hebbono per ultima risposta, che se volevano levarsi da dosso la guerra, rimettessero i Medici nello stato che erano avanti si partissero dalla città : onde li oratori se ne partirono subito.” See Varchi ix. 234.

† Carlo V. a Clemente VII. 29 d'Agosto. Similmente dico, ch'io sto molto contento della persona del Duca Alessandro. *Lettere di principi* ii., f. 185.

might take arms again, and compel his divided antagonists to accept his conditions. This the intimate friends whom he had consulted at his departure from Germany, probably expected; for his presence, they averred would, be equivalent to an army of ten thousand men; the world must be shown that nobody could resist where the emperor appeared in person. Some old captains of the Italian wars were also in favour of this course. Charles afterwards regretted that he did not pursue it, and especially that he did not immediately enter the Venetian territory; the issue of the attempt of the Turks on Vienna being what it was, he might then have dictated a peace.\*

This issue, however, it had been impossible to foresee; and the first effect of the advance of the grand sultan was rather to awaken in the Italian powers a hope that they might find that support in the Turks, which France no longer afforded them. Milan and Venice, therefore, drew closer the bonds of their alliance; they determined on mutual succours, and each promised not to conclude a separate peace. War broke out again in Lombardy; Leiva took Pavia, and a few thousand landsknechts under Count Felix von Werdenberg, invaded the Venetian territory along the Lago di Garda, and

\* Charles to Ferdinand, 10 January, 1530. *Me trouvois plus loing de vous que n'eusse fait si dez le commencement je me fusse party au pays des Veniciens, et eusse été plus pres pour mieux vous pouvoir succourir et eulx plus volontaires pour venir a ung meilleur appointment faillant votre necessité comme elle a fait.* Brussels Archives.



plundered the Brescian country.\* These slight successes, however, decided nothing; and the two states presented a front fully armed and prepared for self-defence.

Suleiman's retreat altered the face of things: the Italians, abandoned on all sides, lost courage†; but the emperor had in the interval constantly evinced such pacific dispositions, that he could not revert to any warlike schemes, without breaking his word and losing for ever the public confidence.‡

It was not agreeable to him indeed to restore the Milanese, which he would gladly have disposed of otherwise, to Francesco Sforza; nor to leave the towns of the Terra firma, which he claimed as emperor, in the hands of the Venetians; but, all circumstances considered, it was not to be avoided.§

It was most important to him to make peace with the Venetians, who still possessed some strong places and good harbours in the Neapolitan territory. By the acquisition of these, Naples would be tranquillized; it would then be able to conduct its own administration, and to contribute to the general expenses of the empire.

\* Leoni, Vita di Francesco Maria, 419.

† Jacopo Pitti: Tutti calarono le braccia per la fuga Turchescha, altrimenti l'imperatore haberebbe havuto che fare molto piu che non si pensasse.

‡ Pour ceste occasion du Turcq j'avois tant parlé de ceste paix qu'il ne m'eust semblé honneste la laisser de faire. (Lettre à Ferdinand 10 Janv.)

§ Si j'eusse veu moyen d'en faire autrement, n'en eusse usé ainsi. Ib.

In order to retain possession of the Milanese, he must first wrest from Francesco Sforza the fortresses, which were in an excellent state of defence; this could not be done without a serious war, and would unsettle the treaty of peace concluded with France, and even with the pope.

Pope Clement earnestly wished for peace. His former schemes of restoring the independence of Italy, had been merged in his desire to reduce Florence to obedience. Now it was manifest that a renewal of the war, let it terminate how it might, would open to that city a possibility of resistance, while it would greatly diminish his means of attack, by furnishing other occupation to the imperial army. He thought, therefore, he did enough for Milan and for Italy if he procured them a tolerable peace.\*

Every thing that had happened had served to confirm the emperor in the opinion, that he could not maintain his power in Italy without the friendship of the pope.

Towards the end of the year 1529, they held a conference in Bologna, the object of which was, from the beginning, the complete pacification of Italy; negotiations to that effect having already made some progress under the mediation of the pope. On the 5th of November the emperor arrived, and found Clement awaiting him.

\* Recollections in a letter from Rome, doubtless from Sanga to the Bishop of Vasona, papal nuntio at the emperor's court. *Lettere di principi*, ii. 181 — 185.

The pope and the emperor, like the two royal ladies in Cambray, inhabited adjoining houses, connected by a door of which each had a key.\*

The emperor took care to prepare himself beforehand for every conversation with the veteran politician. He had a paper in his hand, on which he had noted all the topics to be discussed at that interview.

The first point on which he listened to the pope's advice was, to cite his rebellious vassal, Francesco Sforza, against whom he had proclaimed sentence of forfeiture of his duchy, to appear before him.

Sforza was seriously ill. He was obliged to support himself on a staff when he spoke with the emperor, and the pope would not allow him to kiss his foot. But his cause did not suffer: he showed prudence, ability and good dispositions; he spoke extremely well, and understood how to conciliate his own interest with entire devotion to his suzerain.† With the great men about the court he

\* Romischer keyserlicher Majestat eynreyten gen Bologna, auch wie sich bebstliche Heyligkeit gegen seyne keyserliche Majestat gehalten habe 1529. His Roman imperial majesty's journey to Bologna, also how his papal holiness demeaned himself towards his imperial majesty, 1529. At the conclusion: "Und liegen der Keyser und der Babst also nah bei einander, das nit mer dan ein kleyn wand zwyschen inen ist, und haben ein Thür zusammengehn und jeder ein schlüssel darzu."—"And the emperor and the pope lie near each other, so that not more than a little wall is between them, and they have a door through which to meet, and each has a key thereof."

† Confidarsi in lei (S.M.), ponersi in man sua. Contarini Relatione di Bologna, 1530.

employed other means of persuasion. Gradually, the old resentment against him was allowed to subside.

The Venetian ambassador also endeavoured to remove the displeasure which the emperor might have conceived against the republic. He obtained an audience of two hours, and had the satisfaction of finding that the emperor understood the situation of the republic, and admitted the justification he had to offer.

The bases of a treaty were therefore soon agreed upon; the Venetians were to give up whatever they possessed belonging to the states of the church or to Naples, and on that condition, were not to be attacked. Francesco Sforza was to receive the fief of the duchy of Milan.

The only difficulty lay in the demands for money both on Venice and Milan. In order to make sure of payment from the latter, the emperor wished to garrison the citadels of Milan and Como with his troops. On the 12th of December a courier arrived, bringing the assent of the Venetian senate to the pecuniary terms imposed on the republic, as well as to those regarding Milan.\*

Hereupon, on the 23d of December, a treaty of peace was concluded, which was at the same time one of alliance. The Venetians engaged to pay off the arrears of subsidies which they owed in virtue of the treaty of 1523, by instalments during the next eight years; and, besides, 100,000 sc.

\* Gregorio Casale, 13th Dec. Molini, ii. p. 263.

in the next year.\* Francesco Sforza was much more severely dealt with; a sum of 900,000 scudi, to be discharged at fixed periods, was demanded of him, 400,000 of which he was to pay within the next year. This was, as we perceive, the emperor's system; he treated Milan and Venice in the same manner as he had treated Portugal and France; he waived claims which he might have asserted, in consideration of money. The emperor promised to defend Milan and Venice; and the Venetians, on their part, Naples and Milan, in case of an attack.

The Duke of Ferrara was still not included in the peace. As he was also at enmity with the pope, he had neglected no means of obtaining access to Charles himself. It is said that Andrea Doria wrote to him, that his only way of gaining the favour of the emperor was to show confidence in him.† When, therefore, Charles entered Modena, the duke went out to meet him, carrying the keys of the city; and from that moment it is certain that the emperor showed himself favourably disposed towards him. The pope was far less placable. It was with the utmost difficulty that he was induced to submit his disputes with Ferrara to a fresh investigation by the emperor himself, in whose hands the duke had consented to place Modena as a deposit.

In the Florentine affairs Clement was perfectly immovable. Envoys from that republic presented themselves before him again at Bologna; but they

\* *Tractatus pacis ligæ et perpetuæ confœderationis*, Du Mont. iv., ii. p. 53.

† Galeacius Capella, lib. viii. p. 218.

were only met by violent explosions of temper on the part of the pope, and bitter reproaches for all the personal affronts that had been offered to himself, and to the friends by whom he was surrounded in Rome. The emperor repeated what he had always said, that he was not come to Italy to injure any body, but to make peace; but that he had now pledged his word to the pope, and must abide by it.\* The affair had often been discussed in his privy-council. It had been decided that, in the first place, Florence had forfeited her privileges by rebellion, and that the emperor had an indisputable right to punish her; and secondly, that the pope was, independently of this, fully justified in his demands; since the vicar of Christ would certainly commit no injustice.† Perugia, Arezzo, and Cortona were already in the hands of the imperialists; the Prince of Orange, though not as fully persuaded of the justice of the pope's claims as his master, obeyed orders, and in the month of February encamped with his army in the neighbourhood of Florence. During the carnival there were daily skirmishes at the gates.

\* Jacopo Pitti: Rispose loro Cesare gratamente, dolerli del male pativa la Città, perche egli non era venuto in Italia per nuocere ad alcuno, ma per metterci pace, non poter gia in questo caso mancare al papa — nè credere che voglia il papa cose inconvenienti: replicaronli li oratori, che la città desiderava solamente mantenere il suo governo: — Cesare disse, che forse il governo parerebbe loro ragionevole, nondimeno haberebbe bisogno di qualche corretione.

† Declaration of the emperor's confessor. Varchi, p. 338.

The emperor wished to settle all the affairs of Italy now definitively, that he might be at liberty to go for a few months to Naples, where his presence was very desirable. He would then have taken Rome in his way; and, as ancient usage demanded, have received the crown there with all the customary solemnities. There were persons about him who told him that he had accomplished nothing, if he had not been crowned in Rome itself. Others, however, doubted whether the place was of so much importance; and Charles thought it expedient first to ask his brother, whether the affairs of Germany would allow of his absenting himself for the time required for this journey.\* Ferdinand replied, the sooner he returned the better; if he went to Naples, his enemies would imagine he would never come back. It was therefore decided that the coronation should take place at Bologna; the emperor determined to commemorate his birthday and the anniversary of the battle of Pavia, by this solemn act.

Solemnities of this kind have a twofold significance; they connect the present immediately with the remote past; while, at the same time, they have a character determined by the circumstances of the moment.

\* The immediate purpose of the letter of the 10th of January, so often referred to, which I discovered during my second visit to Brussels, and will insert in the Appendix, was this inquiry. Ferdinand received it on the 18th, and answered on the 28th from Budweis. The answer is printed in Gevay, 1530. App. No. 1.



The coronation of Charles was distinguished by many peculiarities. It did not take place at Rome, as had been the invariable custom, but at Bologna; the church of San Petronio was the substitute for St. Peter's; the chapels which were used for the various functions were named after the chapels of St. Peter's, and there was a place marked in the church which represented the confessional of St. Peter's.\*

Nor did the emperor appear with the same state as his predecessors. He had neglected to summon the electors; a single German prince was present — Philip of the Palatinate, who had arrived by chance the day before the coronation — the same who had just acquired a certain celebrity at the siege of Vienna; but he held no official rank or charge at the ceremony. An escort of German knights, such as had heretofore accompanied their emperor to the bridge of the Tiber, was out of the question; instead of them three thousand German landsknechts were drawn out on the piazza, gallant and warlike soldiers, but under the command of a Spaniard, Antonio de Leiva, who had made his entrance into the city at their head, carried on a litter of dark brown velvet. Whatever brilliancy surrounded the emperor had attended him from Spain, or had come to meet him in Italy. The procession with which he repaired to the church to be invested with the imperial crown,

\* *Consurgens electus venit ad confessionem B. Petri — et in loco humili et depresso ad instar loci ante ingressum capellæ S. Petri de urbe procubuit.* Rainaldus xx. 568.

on the 24th of February, 1530, (having two days previously received the iron crown with somewhat modified solemnities,) was opened by Spanish pages of noble birth; then followed the Spanish lords we have already enumerated, vying with each other in pomp and splendour; after them, the heralds—not German, but principally those of the several Spanish provinces: the sceptre was borne by the Marquis of Monferrat; the sword, by the duke of Urbino; the globe, by Count Palatine Philip; and, lastly, the crown, by the Duke of Savoy. The electors learned with wonder that their hereditary charges had been committed to others, without even asking their consent. After these undelegated performers of their functions, walked the emperor, between two cardinals, and followed by the members of his privy-council. A wooden gallery had been erected to connect the palace with the church of St. Petronio; hardly had the emperor passed through it when it broke down. Many regarded this as an omen that he would be the last emperor who would be crowned in Italy—a prediction which the event fulfilled. He himself saw in the incident only a fresh proof of his good fortune, which protected him in the moment of danger.\*

He was now invested with the sandals, and the mantle, ponderous and stiff with jewels, which had been brought from the court of Byzantium. He was anointed with the exorcised oil, according

\* Jovius, 27th Book. De duplici coronatione Caroli V. Cæsaris ap. Bononiam historiola, autore H. C. Agrippa. Scharidius, iii. 266.

to a formula almost exactly the same as that used by Hinkmar of Rheims\*; the crown of Charlemagne was placed upon his head; he was adorned with all the insignia of the most ancient and sacred dignity of Chief of Christendom. But while receiving its honours, he also accepted its obligations; he took the oath which, in the triumphant days of the hierarchy, the popes had imposed upon the emperors — to defend the pope, the Roman church, and all their possessions, dignities, and rights; and as he was a conscientious man, we cannot doubt that he pronounced this oath with the most earnest sincerity. The union of the spiritual and temporal hierarchy required to complete the idea of Latin Christendom, was once more consummated.

During the ceremony, the French ambassador, the bishop of Tarbes, stood between the throne of the emperor and that of the pope, with the count of Nassau. They spoke much of the friendship now existing between their sovereigns, which left nothing to desire, except that it should be permanent. But it is only necessary to read the report of the ceremony sent by the bishop to his own court, to see that he, at least, meant the very reverse of what he said. He pretends to have per-

\* The words of the unction in the ritual, "*Ipse — super caput tuum infundat benedictionem, eandem usque ad interiora cordis tui penetrare faciat*" (Rainaldus p. 569, No. 23.), strongly remind us of Hinkmar's formula of 877: "*Cujus sacratissima unctio super caput ejus defluat atque ad interiora ejus descendat et intima cordis illius penetret.*" But the earlier form is in all respects more beautiful.

ceived that the pope sighed whenever he thought himself unobserved. He declares in the same letter that the protracted meeting of the two sovereigns had rather tended to generate aversion than friendship; that the pope had said to him, that he saw he was cheated, but that he must act as if he did not see it. In short, he declared it certain that time would bring about proceedings on the pope's part, with which the king of France might be well satisfied.\*

From the correspondence of the emperor with his brother, we also see that he felt by no means secure of the pope.

It were a mistake to imagine that it would then have been safe or possible for him to act as if he were sovereign lord of Italy; but he knew how to profit by the moment when his enemies were exhausted and deprived of political support, in order to strengthen that ascendancy which he had acquired by arms, and thus to lay the basis of future domination.

The pope might vent his anger as he pleased in moments of irritation, but he could no longer emancipate himself from the emperor. Florence being reduced to subjection after a brave resistance, the emperor conferred upon the house of Medici a more firmly based legitimate power than it had ever possessed; a family alliance was concluded, which rendered impossible in future any

\* Lettre de M. de Gramont, Ev. de Tarbes à M. l'Admiral, Boulogne, 25 Février, in *La Grande Histoire du Divorce*, tom. iii. p. 386.

of those violent divisions which had hitherto rent the city.

The emperor was also secure of Milan. Sforza well knew that Francis I. had not wholly renounced his pretensions to Lombardy; as was evident from the eagerness with which some Milanese of rank sought to renew their connexion with France. Sforza was therefore compelled to attach himself unconditionally to the emperor, to whom alone he could look for protection. Shortly after, he too became allied by marriage with the house of Austria. An imperial general continued to command the army in Lombardy.

Venice retained a far greater share of independence. But here, too, the peace had been brought about by a party in opposition to the doge, and relying on its friendly relations with Austria and Spain for its own support. Moreover, the republic, menaced by the Ottomans, was compelled to seek assistance in Europe, which no other power but Spain was in a condition to afford. It had gradually come to a conviction that the time for conquest and extension of territory was for ever past for Venice; that she was entering on a new era, the character of which would be determined by her relations with Spain.

Nor had the emperor been less anxious to attach to himself the lesser princes and republics.

The markgrave of Mantua was raised to the dignity of duke; Carpi was granted to the duke of Ferrara, by the emperor; to his brother-in-law, the duke of Savoy, he gave Asti, which Francis I. had

surrendered, — to his no small disgust ; to the duke of Urbino — at that time the most renowned warrior of Italy — Charles had offered service, and distinguished him with many personal favours in Bologna.

The old Ghibelline spirit revived in Siena and Lucca, and was fostered in every possible way by the emperor. Whatever might be said of the restored liberties of Genoa, the real effect of the changes that had taken place there was to render Andrea Doria absolute.\* The name given to him — Il Figoné (the fig-gardener) — from his birth-place, the Riviera, soon gave way to another — the Monarch. And this monarch of Genoa was admiral to the emperor.

Charles bound the great capitalists to his interests by a different, but not less powerful tie ; he borrowed money of them.

There is no doubt that all these powers might imagine themselves independent ; they might certainly have embraced a different line of policy, and indeed, they occasionally meditated doing so. But either their internal or external affairs afforded motives which bound them to the emperor, and these motives were now partly enhanced by design, partly developed by the nature of things ; while Charles's power was so vast and dazzling, that a connexion with him was no less flattering to the ambition, than profitable to the interests, of lesser sovereigns.

\* Basadonna Relatione di Milano 1533. E esso Doria fa il privato e governa assolutamente Genoa. Del che si doleno Genovesi.

The world thus once more beheld an emperor in the plenitude of power ; but the bases on which this power rested were new ; the old imperial office and dignity were gone.

Least of all could the German nation boast that the Germanic empire had recovered its ancient character and powers.

The electors complained that they were neither summoned to the coronation, nor invited to take a share in the treaties which the emperor had concluded with the Italian powers. They entered a formal protest, that if any thing should have been agreed to in these treaties which might now or hereafter prove detrimental to the holy Roman empire, they had in no wise assented or consented to it.\*

The emperor had already been reminded that the conquered provinces of Italy did not belong to him, but to the empire ; and had been required to restore to the empire its finance chambers (*Kammern*), especially those of Milan and Genoa ; upon which the imperial government would appoint a gubernator, and would appropriate the surplus revenues to the maintenance of tranquillity and law. Such, however, were not the notions of the emperor, or of his Spanish captains. The duke of Brunswick affirmed that obstacles had been intentionally thrown in his way, during his Italian campaign in the year 1528, by Antonio Leiva ; the Spaniard, he said, would endure no German prince in the Milanese. And this same Leiva had now received Pavia

\* Protest of the 30th July, 1530, in the Coblenz Archives.



in fief, and held the supreme command over an army in the field. German influence was destroyed.

Under these circumstances the emperor, no longer the perfect representative of the national power, took his way over the Tridentine Alps to Germany (May, 1530).\*

If we inquire what were his own views as to Germany, we shall discover that none but the most proximate presented themselves with any distinctness to his mind.

He had promised his brother, whose fidelity to him through all the complications of his Italian affairs had been unshaken,—who, feeble as were his resources, was ever ready to come to his aid, and who had been his most useful ally,—to confer upon him the dignity of king of the Romans. The attempts to transfer this dignity to another house— attempts continually renewed and not without danger—must, he said, be put an end to. The fitting moment was now arrived; they must take advantage of this full tide of power and victory.

It had likewise become absolutely necessary to take effectual measures against the Turks. Recent events had shown the Germans that not Hungary alone, but their own Fatherland was at stake; the imminence of the danger would render them more complying. This was an indispensable condition to the stability of the house of Austria.

Yet he distinctly felt that this state of things would not be permanent.

\* Bucholtz, iii. 92. Note.

During his stay in Italy, a pacific demeanour — not indeed at variance with his disposition, which rather inclined that way, but contrary to his original intentions — had been imposed upon him by the state of things. But the warlike schemes of his youth, though suspended, were not abandoned. When he turned his eyes on Germany (as he tells his brother in a letter) he wished to confer with him about many things, and especially about their future conduct towards that nation; — whether they should remain at peace, or engage in any warlike expedition; whether they should immediately join in a common effort against the Turks, or wait for some great occasion which might justify their enterprise.

Every thing depended on the course of religious affairs, and these had already occupied his deliberate attention.

## CHAPTER IX.

## DIET OF AUGSBURG, 1530.

By the treaty of Barcelona the emperor had bound himself to endeavour, in the first place, to bring back the dissidents to the faith ; and if that attempt should fail, then to apply all his power “to avenge the insult offered to Christ.” \*

I do not doubt that this engagement was entirely in accordance with his intentions.

Revolting and arbitrary as the opinion delivered to him by his companion, the papal legate Campeggi, appears to us, it is in fact founded on the same ideas. Campeggi begins by suggesting the means by which the protestants might be reclaimed ; — promises, threats, alliances with the states which remained true to catholicism ; in case, however, all these should be unavailing, he insists most strongly on the necessity of resorting to force, — to fire and sword, as he expresses it ; he declares that their property should be confiscated, and Germany be subjected to the vigilance of an inquisition similar to that established in Spain.†

\* *Vim potestatis distringent* (Charles and Ferdinand).

† *Instructio data Cæsari dal revmo. Campeggio* : “ con offerte prima, poi con minaccie ridurli nella via sua, cioè del Dio onnipotente.” The Opinion is attached to the deliberation at Bologna, with which Eck was acquainted. See Luther’s *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen* (Warning to his dear Germans). *Altenb.* v. 534.

All that has come down to us of the correspondence of the emperor with his brother, breathes the same spirit and the same purposes.

Ferdinand had, as we know, entered into negotiations with Elector John of Saxony; but he assures the emperor that he does this only to gain time. "You may think," adds he, "that I concede too much; and you may thus be hindered from proceeding to the work of punishment. Monseigneur, I will negotiate as long as possible, and will conclude nothing; but, even should I have concluded, there will be many other pretexts for chastising them,—reasons of state, without your needing to mention religion; they have played so many bad tricks besides, that you will find people who will willingly help you in this matter."\*

This, therefore, was the design; to try first whether the protestants could not be brought back by fair means to the unity of Latin Christendom, which was now restored to peace, and to the imposing aspect of a great system; but in case this did not succeed, the application of force was distinctly contemplated, and the right to apply it carefully reserved.

It would not have been prudent, however, to irritate the antipathies of offended self-love by threats. Clemency ceases to be clemency, if future severity is seen lurking in the back-ground.

\* Letter from Ferdinand to the emperor; Budweis, 28th Jan. in Gevay's original documents of 1530. p. 67. See the Excerpt from the Chancellor's letter in Bucholtz, iii. 427.

It was therefore determined at present to turn only the fair side to view.

The emperor's convocation of the diet breathed nothing but peace. He announced his desire "to allay divisions; to leave all past errors to the judgment of our Saviour, and, further, to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinions, thoughts, and notions; to weigh them carefully; to bring men to christian truth; and to dispose of every thing that has not been rightly explained on both sides." This proclamation was dated from the palace in which the emperor was living with the pope. The pope left the emperor's hands free; and, indeed, he too would have been rejoiced if these lenient measures had been successful.

But whatever moderation might appear in the emperor's language, the orthodox princes were sufficiently well-informed of the temper of the imperial court, and of its connexion with that of Rome, not to conceive the liveliest hopes on its arrival. They hastened to draw up a statement of all their grievances, and to revise all the old judgments and orders in council for the suppression of the Lutheran agitation. "It pleases us much," says the Administrator of Regensburg, in the instructions to his envoys to the diet, "that the innovations against the excellent and long-established usages of the church should be rooted out and abolished."\* The emperor at first held his court at Innsbruck, in

\* Förstemann Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Reichstags von Augsburg, bd. i. p. 209.

order, by the aid of his brother's advice, to secure a favourable result of the proceedings of the diet. Of what nature these were, may be inferred from one fact;—that the Venetian ambassador saw an account from which it appeared that, between the time of its departure from Bologna, to the 12th of July, 1530, the imperial court had expended 270,000 gulden in presents. Prosperity and power, in themselves sufficiently imposing and attractive, were now, as for centuries in Germany, aided by all the influence of largesses and favours. All who had any thing to expect from the court now flocked thither, and it was almost forgotten that the diet ought long ago to have been opened: every man was intent on getting his own business settled without delay.\*

It soon appeared from one example, how great an influence the emperor's presence would exercise on religious affairs. His brother-in-law, the exiled King Christiern of Denmark, who had hitherto adhered to Luther, constantly corresponded with him, and openly declared himself a convert to his doctrines, was induced in Innsbruck to return to the old faith. The pope was overjoyed when he heard it. "I cannot express," he writes to the emperor, "with what emotion this news has filled me. The splendour of your majesty's virtues begins to scare away the night; this example will work upon

\* *Relatio viri nobilis Nic. Theupulo doctoris, 1533*: ne in esso vi erano spese se non di doni fatti a diversi signori (among whom were Italians).

numberless others.”\* He granted Christiern absolution, and imposed upon him a penance which he was to perform after his restoration to his kingdom. The emperor himself hoped that, as he had succeeded, contrary to his expectations, in purifying Italy from heresy, he should not fail in Germany. In Rome every thing was expected from the lucky star which seemed to preside over all his proceedings.

Circumstances did indeed appear extremely propitious to his designs.

The emperor's convocation had been favourably received by the protestants. The prince whose dispositions and conduct were the most important—the elector of Saxony—was the first who arrived at Augsburg. He went without delay to offer his congratulations to the emperor (who had crossed the Alps just at the same time) on his arrival in the empire, which he had learned “with loyal joy;” he would wait the pleasure of his majesty, his own chief and lord, in Augsburg.† He had invited his allies to follow him; for the diet of Augsburg seemed to be the national council which had been so long expected, so often and so vainly demanded, and which now afforded a hope of the reconciliation of religious differences.‡

\* Roma, 3 Giugno, 1530. *Lettere de' Principi*, ii. 194.

† To Nassau and Waldkirch, 14 May; Förstemann, i. 162. 164.

‡ 13th March, *ibid.* p. 24. See the opinion in Brück, p. 11. In einer Ermanung reymenweiss von Hans Marschalk, 1530, wird Gott gebeten offenbar zu machen sein Wort, “damit es komme an ein Ort in diesem Reichstag und Concilio.” In “an



The negotiations of the elector with king Ferdinand had, as may be presumed from what we have just stated, led to no conclusion; but they were by no means broken off. Elector John had also various other affairs to discuss with the imperial court, to arrange which he had sent an ambassador to Innsbruck. The question, whether it might not be possible to win him over, presented itself, and an attempt was made to prevail on him to come himself to Innsbruck. The emperor sent him word that he might rely on all possible friendship from him, and invited him to come to his court, as many other princes had done. "He intended to unite with him in the settlement of affairs, which might be arranged by themselves in person."

But here, too, Charles had a proof of the kind of resistance which he would have to encounter in Germany. The elector was offended that the emperor had urged him, through the ambassador of another power, to impose silence on the preachers he had brought with him. This demand appeared to him an unauthorised attempt to prejudge the very question to be inquired into; and he was persuaded

admonition rhyme-wise," by John Marschalk, 1530, God is prayed to proclaim his work, "whereby a place may be appointed for this diet and council." Here the hopes of former years re-appear. The emperor is admonished to embrace the divine word, "damit nicht weyter werd geplent das arm volk der Christenheit, welches lang auf schmaler weyd des Glaubens halb irr gangen ist,"—"that so the poor people be no longer deprived of Christianity, who, on account of their scanty nourishment of faith, have long gone half astray."

that the compliance which he refused in Augsburg would be extorted from him in Innsbruck, in case he appeared there. He saw, too, that the court was already filled with his personal adversaries. Nor did he think it expedient to enter upon the business of the diet at any other place than the one appointed. In short, he adhered to his declaration, that he would wait the emperor's coming in Augsburg.

The imperial court was generally unprepared for the bearing exhibited by the protestants assembled in Augsburg; for the approbation the preachers obtained in that city, and the popularity they enjoyed throughout Germany. In Italy it had been thought that at the first mutterings of the tempest, the protestants would disperse, like a flock of doves when the hawk pounces down in the midst of them.\* Chancellor Gattinara first remarked that the court would find more difficulties than he had himself anticipated.† Gattinara, an old antagonist of the papal policy, and without question the most adroit politician the emperor possessed, would perhaps have been the man to modify the views of the court so

\* Leodius lib. vii. p. 139. See how Erasmus speaks of Sadolet:—*Duæ res nonnullam præbent spem: una est genius Cæsaris mire felix, altera quod isti in dogmatibus mire inter se dissentiunt.* End of 1529, or beginning of 1530. Epp. ii. 1258.

† Raince, Rome 1 Juin. *Le s. père est adverti, que le chancelier se trouvoit aucunement (in some degree — the sense in which Raince often uses it) déçu de l'opinion facile, en quoy il en avoit été, et qu'il commençoit à confesser qu'il s'apercevoit les choses en tout cas y être plus laides qu'ils ne pensoient.* MS. Bethune, 8534.

as to render them attainable ; even the protestants relied upon him. But exactly at this moment he died at Innsbruck. The state of things excited no such serious misgivings in the others : what did not succeed in Innsbruck, they hoped to accomplish, by some means or other, in Augsburg.

On the 6th of June the emperor set out for that city. He took Munich in his way, where he was magnificently received. Accompanied by the temporal and spiritual princes of Austria and Bavaria—the same who formerly concluded the Regensburg league—he reached the bridge over the Lech, before Augsburg, on the evening of the 15th.

The most brilliant assemblage of princes of the empire that had been witnessed for a long time, had already been waiting for some hours to receive him ; sovereigns, spiritual and temporal from Upper and Lower Germany, and a very numerous body of young princes who had not yet attained to sovereignty. As soon as the emperor approached, they alighted from their horses and advanced to meet him. The emperor too alighted, and put out his hand to each of them in a courteous and friendly manner. The elector of Mainz greeted him in the name of all these “assembled members of the holy Roman empire.” Hereupon they all prepared to make their solemn entry into the imperial city. As we have just contemplated the imperial coronation, in which Germany had hardly any share, we must pause a moment over this still essentially German ceremony of the solemn entry.\*

\* We have several accounts of this ceremony. 1st. In the

Foremost marched two companies of landsknechts, to whom the emperor entrusted the guard of the imperial city, as whose newly-arrived lord he wished to be regarded. They were just recruited, and had not that military air which is required in Germany; but there were many among them who had served in the Italian wars, and some who had become rich there. The most prominent figure was Simon Seitz, an Augsburg citizen, who served the emperor as military secretary, and who now, magnificently clad in gold, and mounted on a brown jennet with embroidered housings, returned to his native town with an air of splendid arrogance.

Next followed the mounted guard of the six electors. The Saxons, according to ancient usage, headed the procession; about a hundred and sixty horsemen, all habited in liver colour, with matchlocks in their hands. They consisted partly of the people about the court; princes and counts having one, two, or four horses, according to their dignity; partly, of the councillors and nobles summoned from the country. People remarked the electoral prince, who had negotiated the first alliance with Hessen. Then followed the horsemen of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Cologne, Mainz, and Treves, all in their proper colours and arms. According to the hier-

Altenburg collection of Luther's works. 2d. in Cyprian's History of the Augsburg Confession, and two pamphlets called 3d. Kaiserl. Maj. Einreitung zu München, and 4th Kais. Maj. Einreiten zum Reichstag gen Augsburg. The two former are reprinted in Walch; the two latter in Förstemann. Some particulars I extracted from Fürstenberg's letters.

archy of the empire, the Bavarians had no place here ; but before they could be prevented, they had taken their place, and they at least filled it magnificently. They were all in light armour, with red surcoats ; they rode by fives, and were distinguishable, even from a distance, by their waving plumes. There might be four hundred and fifty horses in all.

People were struck with the difference, when, after this most warlike pomp, the courts of the emperor and the king made their appearance : foremost, the pages dressed in red or yellow velvet ; then the Spanish, Bohemian, and German lords, in garments of silk and velvet, with large gold chains, but almost all unarmed. They were mounted on the most beautiful horses, Turkish, Spanish, and Polish, and the Bohemians did not forget to display their gallant horsemanship.

This escort was followed by the two sovereigns in person.

Their coming was announced by two rows of trumpeters, partly in the king's colours, partly in the emperor's, accompanied by their drums, pursuivants, and heralds.

Here then were all the high and mighty lords who ruled almost without control in their wide domains ; whose border quarrels were wont to fill Germany with tumult and war. Ernest of Lüneburg and Henry of Brunswick, who were still in a state of unappeased strife concerning the Hildesheim quarrel ; George of Saxony, and his son-in-law, Philip of Hessen, who had lately come into such rude collision, in consequence of Päck's plot ; the

dukes of Bavaria, and their cousins, the counts palatine, whose short reconciliation now began to give way to fresh misunderstandings; near the princes of the house of Brandenburg, the dukes of Pomerania, who, in despite of them, hoped to receive, at the coming diet, infeudation as immediate lords. All these now acknowledged the presence of one above them all, to whom they paid common homage and deference. The princes were followed by the electors, temporal and spiritual. Side by side rode John of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg, between whom there was no slight grudge, sufficiently accounted for by the troubles caused by the flight of the wife of the markgrave. Elector John once more bore the drawn sword before his emperor. Immediately after the electors came their chosen and now crowned chief, mounted on a white Polish charger, under a magnificent three-coloured baldachin, borne by six councillors of Augsburg. It was remarked that he who formed the centre of this imposing group, was the only one who looked a stranger to it; he was dressed from head to foot in the Spanish fashion. He had expressed a wish to have his brother on the one side of him, and on the other, the legate, to whom he wished to pay the highest honour; he even wanted the ecclesiastical electors to yield precedence to him, but on this point they were inflexible. They thought they did Campeggi honour enough when the most learned of their College, Elector Joachim, who spoke Latin with considerable fluency, (better at least than any of its spiritual members,)



offered him their congratulations. King Ferdinand and the legate accordingly rode together, outside the baldachin; they were followed by the German cardinals and bishops, the foreign ambassadors and prelates. Conspicuous among them was the emperor's haughty confessor, the Bishop of Osma.\*

The procession of princes and lords was again succeeded by mounted guards; those of the emperor clad in yellow, those of the king in red; with them, vying in gallant equipments, the horsemen of the lords spiritual and temporal, each troop in its proper colours; all armed either with breast-plate and lance, or with fire-arms.

The militia of Augsburg, which had marched out in the morning to receive the emperor, foot and horse, paid troops and citizens, closed the procession.

This was in accordance with the whole import of the ceremony, viz., that the empire fetched home its emperor. Near St. Leonard's church he was met by the clergy of the city, singing 'Advenisti desiderabilis;' the princes accompanied him to the cathedral, where 'Te Deum' was sung, and the benediction pronounced over him; nor did they leave him till they reached the door of his apartment in the palace.

But even here, at their very first meeting — in the church too — the great and all-dividing question which was to occupy this august assembly, presented itself in all its abruptness.

\* Contarini: "di spirito molto alto."



The protestants had joined in the religious, as well as the civil ceremonies; and the emperor was perhaps encouraged by this to take advantage of the first moment of his presence, the first impression made by his arrival, to prevail upon them to make some material concessions.

Allowing the remaining princes to depart, the emperor invited the elector of Saxony, the markgrave George of Brandenburg, duke Francis of Lüneburg, and landgrave Philip, to attend him in a private room, and there, through the mouth of his brother, requested them to put an end to the preachings. The elder princes, startled and alarmed, said nothing; the impetuous landgrave broke silence, and sought to justify his refusal on the ground that nothing was preached but the pure word of God, just as St. Augustine had enjoined; —arguments consummately distasteful to the emperor. The blood rushed into his pallid cheeks, and he repeated his demand in a more imperious tone. But he had here to encounter a resistance of a very different nature from that he had experienced from the Italian powers, who contended only for the interests of a disputed possession. “Sire,” said the old markgrave George, now breaking silence, “rather than renounce God’s word, I will kneel down on this spot to have my head cut off.” The emperor, who wished to utter none but words of mildness, and was naturally benevolent, was himself alarmed at the possibility thus presented to his mind by the lips of another. “Dear

prince," replied he to the markgrave, in his broken low German, "not heads off" (nicht Köpfe ab).\*

The next difficulty was that the protestants declined taking part in the procession of Corpus Christi, on the following day. Had the emperor required their attendance as a court service, they would probably have given it, "like Naaman, in the scripture, to his king," as they said; but he demanded it "in honour of Almighty God." To attend on such a ground appeared to them a violation of conscience. They replied that God had not instituted the sacrament that man should worship it. The procession, which had no longer in any respect its ancient splendour, took place without them.

In regard to the preaching, they did indeed at length yield; but not till the emperor had promised to silence the other party also. He himself appointed certain preachers, but they were only to read the text of scripture, without any exposition. Nor would it have been possible to bring the protestants to yield even this point, had they not been reminded that the Recess of 1528, to which they had always appealed, and which they would not suffer to be revoked, authorised it. The emperor, at least so long as he was there in person, was

\* There is a very authentic account of this in the letters of the Nürnberg delegate, who that same night caused the landgrave to be waked, and told him what was going forward. 16th June; Bretschneider C. Ref. iii. 106. With slight variations, Heller, in Förstemann.

always regarded as the legitimate supreme authority of every imperial city.\*

It is evident, therefore, that the protestants did not allow themselves to be driven back one step from their convictions or from their rights. The requests of the emperor when present made no more impression upon them than his demands when absent had done. If the emperor had calculated on compliance, these were no flattering omens of future success.

At length, on the 20th of June, the business of the diet was opened. In the Proposition, which was read on that day, the emperor insisted, as was reasonable, most urgently on an adequate armament against the Turks: at the same time he declared his intention of putting an end to the religious dissensions by gentle and fair means†,

\* Letter from Augsburg. Altenb. v. Walch 16, 873. (In Walch under Spalatin's name but not complete). Brenz to Isenmann, 19 Juni Corp. Ref. ii. 117.

† I. Mt hat "aus angeporner Güte und Miltigkeit diesen Weg (der Güte) nach vermöge des Ausschreibens furgenommen, der entlichen Hofnung, der soll bei allen verstendigen ein biliges ansehen haben und menniglich dahin bewegen und leitten, dass alle Sachen wieder zum Besten gekehrt und gewendet werden, damit I. Mt inn irem gnedigen Fürhaben verharren und pleiben." "Your majesty has, from your natural goodness and mildness, chosen this way (of gentleness) according to the tenour of the convocation, with the hope it might obtain just consideration with all reasonable men, and move and lead many in such wise, that all things may be again turned and converted for the best, so that your majesty may persist and remain in your gracious purpose." From Förstemann, i. 308, we see how many variations the copies exhibit. That of Frankfurt has still

and reiterated the request contained in the convocation, that every one would give him to that end, his "thoughts, judgment, and opinion," in writing.

As the council of the empire resolved to proceed first to the consideration of religious affairs, the grand struggle immediately commenced.

#### CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

The protestants hastened immediately to draw up a written statement of their religious opinions, to be laid before the States of the empire.

This statement is the Augsburg Confession, and its origin is as follows:

Immediately after the receipt of the emperor's proclamation, the Saxon reformers had deemed it expedient to set forth in writing, and in a regular form, the belief "in which they had hitherto stood, and in which they persisted." \*

Similar preparations had been made in various parts, in anticipation of the national assembly which was to be held in the year 1524; and something of the same kind was, at this moment, taking place on the other side; e. g. in Ingolstadt. †

The Wittenberg reformers took, as basis of their creed, the Schwabach articles, in which, as we may

more; e. g. "aus eingeborner Gunstigkeit, der möglichen Hoffnung," u. s. w. But the meaning is the same.

\* It was thus that Chancellor Brück first conceived the thought, as his "Zeddel," shews; Förstemann, i. 39.

† 19th Feb. 1530. Extract in Winter, i. 270.

remember, the points of difference between the Lutheran theologians and those of the Oberland were defined. It is very remarkable that, in framing this confession, the feeling of the differences which separated them from a party so nearly akin, was, to say the least, not less strong than that of the original dissent which had caused the first great movement. The separation now appeared the wider, since Zwingli and his followers had, in the mean while, recanted some admissions which they had made in Marburg, and which had found their way from the Marburg convention into the Schwabach articles.

These articles were now revised and drawn up afresh by Melanchthon, in that sound and methodical spirit peculiar to him, and in the undeniable intention of approximating as closely as possible to the catholic doctrines. The expositions of the doctrine of free will and of justification by faith which he added, were extremely moderated; he defined at greater length what were the heretical errors (errors rejected also by the Church of Rome) condemned by the articles; he sought to establish these articles, not only on the authority of scripture, but on that of the fathers, and especially of St. Augustine; he did not entirely forbid the honours paid to the memory of the saints, but only endeavoured to define their extent more accurately; he insisted strongly on the dignity of the temporal power, and concluded with the assertion, that these doctrines were not only clearly established in scripture, but also that they were not in contradiction with the

church of Rome, as understood from the writings of the fathers, from whom it was impossible to dissent, and who could hardly be accused of heresy.

And indeed it cannot, I think, be denied that the system of faith here set forth is a product of the vital spirit of the Latin church; that it keeps within the boundaries prescribed by that church, and is, perhaps, of all its offspring, the most remarkable, the most profoundly significant. It bears, as was inevitable, the traces of its origin; that is, the fundamental idea from which Luther had proceeded in the article on justification, gives it somewhat of an individual stamp: this, however, is inherent in all human things. The same fundamental idea had more than once arisen in the bosom of the Latin church, and had produced the most important effects; the only difference was, that Luther had seized upon it with all the energy of religious aspiration; and in his struggle with opposite opinions, as well as in his expositions to the people, had established it as an article of faith of universal application; no human being could say that, so explained and understood, this idea had any thing sectarian in it. Hence the Lutherans steadily opposed the more accidental dogmas which have sprung up in later ages; though not disposed to ascribe to the expressions of a father of the church, absolute and demonstrative authority, the reformers were conscious that they had not departed widely from his conception of Christianity. There is a tacit tradition, not expressed in formulæ,

but contained in the original nature of the conception, which exercises an immense influence over all the operations of the mind. The reformers distinctly felt that they stood on the old ground which Augustine had marked out. They had endeavoured to break through the minute observances by which the Latin church had allowed itself to be fettered in the preceding centuries, and to cast away those bonds altogether; they had recurred to the scripture, to the letter of which they adhered. But they did not forget that it was this same scripture which had been so long and so earnestly studied in the Latin church, and had been regarded as the standard of her faith; nor that much of what that church received was really founded on scripture. To that they adhered; the rest they disregarded.

I do not venture to assert that the Augsburg Confession dogmatically determines the contents and import of scripture; it does no more than bring back the system which had grown up in the Latin church to a unison with scripture; or interpret scripture in the original spirit of the Latin church. That spirit had, however, wrought too imperceptibly to produce any open manifestation which could have served as a bond of faith. The confession of the German Lutheran church is itself its purest manifestation, and the one the most immediately derived from its source.

It is hardly necessary to add that its authors had no intention of imposing this as a permanent and immutable standard of faith. It is simply the



assertion of the fact. "Our churches teach" — "it is taught" — "it is unanimously taught" — "such and such opinions are falsely imputed to us." Such are the expressions Melanchthon uses; his intention is simply to state the belief which already exists.

And in the same spirit he wrote the second part, in which he enumerates and explains the abuses that had been removed.

How wide a field was here opened for virulent polemical attack! What might not have been said concerning the encroachments of the papal power — especially during the sitting of the diet, whose antipathies might thus have been appealed to; — or concerning the degeneracies of a corrupt form of worship! — and, indeed, we find a long register of them, among the rough drafts of the work; but it was thought better to omit them. Melanchthon confined himself strictly to a justification of the ecclesiastical organisation to which the reformers had gradually attained. He explained the grounds on which the sacrament in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy had been permitted, vows and private masses rejected, and fasts and confession left to the will and conscience of each individual; he sought to show generally, how new and dangerous were the contrary practices, how at variance even with the old canonical rules. With wise discretion he was silent concerning the divine right of the pope, the Character *indelibilis*, or even the number of the sacraments; his object was not to convert, but simply to defend. It was sufficient

that he insisted on the distinction between the spiritual calling of the bishops and their temporal power; while defining the former in accordance with the tenor of scripture, he wholly abstained from attacking the latter. He maintained that, on this point also, the evangelical party had not deviated from the genuine principles of the catholic church, and that consequently the emperor might well consent to tolerate the new organisation of the church.\*

\* It is well known that neither of the originals of the Augsburg Confession, signed by the princes, has ever come to light. It was for a long time thought that the German copy had been discovered in Mainz; but Weber in his "*Kritische Geschichte der Augsburger Confession*" has shown with scrupulous industry, that this, like many others, is a transcript without any authentic value. These transcripts present a number of deviations both from each other and from the first edition, which Melancthon superintended in the year 1530. Fortunately the deviations though numerous, are not important. The scribes of that time allowed themselves slight freedoms, especially in the law language, which was so little fixed; but, for the meaning and tenor, these seldom are of any moment. Förstemann's second volume contains a very careful collation of some manuscripts. We meet with the original, from the Mainz Chancery, again at the Conference of Worms, 1540. "Dr. Eck," says the Brandenburg Protocol of the 4th Dec. "hat die neue confession und apologia angefochten, des syn seint dem augsburgischen Reichstag etlich bletter gemehret, viel verändert und das har in die wolle, wie er sagt, geschlagen und ein new schmalz darein gethon wer, derhalben er — — das Original Keys. Mt zu Augsburg übergeben aus der maintzischen canzlei begerete, welches denn unversaget und ihme zu übergeben bewilliget."—"Dr. Eck has attacked the new Confession and Apology to which since the diet of Augsburg some leaves have been added, much altered, and the hair beaten into the wool (felted), as he says, and a new glaze given to it, wherefore he

It may be questioned whether the protestants would not have done better if, instead of restricting themselves so entirely to defence, they had once more acted on the offensive, and appealed to all the strong reforming sympathies then afloat.

We must, however, acknowledge that from the moment they had decided to refuse to admit the adherents of Zwingli into their community, this was impossible. They found themselves almost eclipsed by the popularity of the doctrines taught by Zwingli; the majority of the inhabitants of Augsburg espoused the latter; and nothing less was talked of than a union of Upper Germany and Switzerland, in order to overthrow the entire hierarchy of the empire. Even one of the most eminent of the reforming princes, Landgrave Philip of Hessen, seemed from his conversation to lean to the side of Zwingli.\* A special admonition from Luther was required, to induce him to subscribe the Confession.

Nor could the Lutherans entertain the least hope

desired to have the original, which had been presented to his imperial majesty at Augsburg, out of the Mainz Chancery, which, accordingly did not refuse, and permitted the same to be given to him." I do not find, however, that Eck produced the collation he promised.

\* Letter from Urbanus Rhegius to Luther, 21st May, 1530 : Landgrave Philip adduces "*innumera Sacramentarium argumenta*," "*sentit cum Zwinglio, ut ipsi mihi est fassus*." But it was neither this, nor a letter of Melancthon that moved Luther to apply to the Landgrave. This he did as early as the 20th May. (De W. iv. p. 23).

of gaining over the majority of the States of the empire, who had already taken too decided a part with their adversaries.

They wished for nothing but peace and toleration; they thought they had proved that their doctrines had been unjustly condemned, and denounced as heretical. Luther brought himself to entreat his old antagonist, the Archbishop of Mainz, who now seemed more peaceably disposed, to lay this to heart. Melancthon addressed himself in the name of the princes to the legate Campeggi, and conjured him not to depart from the moderation which he thought he perceived in him, for that every fresh agitation might occasion an immeasurable confusion in the church.\*

In this spirit of conciliation, in the feeling of still unbroken ties, in the wish to give force to that similarity which not only lay at the bottom of both religions, but was obvious in many particulars, was this Confession conceived and drawn up.

On the afternoon of the 25th June, 1530, it was

\* Philip Fürstenberg reports to the city of Frankfurt, 27th June, that there were formal negotiations concerning this. The elector and his kinsmen prayed : " Ih : Mt wolt morgen wieder an dem Ort (im Pallast) erscheinen und den Umbstand (die Umstehenden) ire Berantwortung vernehmen zu lassen gestatten, denn sie weren von iren Widderwertigen nit aleyn bei I. Mt sondern auch bei menniglich verunglimpft; aber endlich ist es bei dem Beschend blieben."—" That your majesty would again appear at the same place (the palace), and be pleased to let those present hear your answer, for they have been reproached not only by your majesty but by many others, with their untractableness. Nevertheless, the message remained unanswered."

read aloud in the assembly of the empire. The princes prayed the emperor to allow this to be done in the larger hall, to which strangers were admitted,—in short, in a public sitting: the emperor, however, chose the smaller, the chapter-room of the bishop's palace, which he inhabited; to this only the members of the assembly of the empire had access. For a similar reason he wished the Latin version of the document to be read, but the princes reminded him that on German ground his majesty would be pleased to permit the use of the German language. Thereupon the young chancellor of Saxony, Dr. Christian Baier, read the Confession in German, with a distinctness of voice and utterance which well accorded with the clearness and firmness of the belief it expressed.\* The number of the spiritual princes present was not great: they thought they should be compelled to listen to many inconvenient reproaches. Those in favour of it rejoiced at having made this progress, and were delighted both with the matter of

\* Fürstenberg: "Hell und klar, dass menniglich, so dabei was, der anders deutsch verstunde, alle Wort eigentlich, was doch in solcher Bersammlung selten geschieht, verstehen mocht." —"Distinct and clear, that as many as were there present that understood German, could hear every word, which in such assemblies seldom happens." The catholics thought the permission to read the Confession aloud, a great and unmerited honour. Even two years afterwards, Eck grumbles at it. "Lutheranismus in arcem dignitatum evectus ita invaluit, ut assertores erroris non vererentur in publicis comitiis Augustæ offerre Cæsari novi dogmatis confessionem. Præfatio in homilias V. contra Turcam. A. iii.

the Confession and the manner in which it was recited. Some took advantage of the opportunity to note down the main points. As soon as it was finished, the two copies were handed to the emperor; the German he gave to the chancellor of the empire, the Latin he kept in his own hands. Both of them were signed by the elector and the electoral prince of Saxony, markgrave George of Brandenburg, the dukes Francis and Ernest of Lüneburg, landgrave Philip, prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the delegates of the cities of Nürnberg and Reutlingen.

#### CONFUTATION. — THREATS.

The evangelical princes expected that their adversaries would come forward with a similar declaration of faith, and that the emperor would then endeavour to mediate between them. This expectation was held out by the Proposition, and, in still more distinct terms, by the Convocation in virtue of which they were now assembled.

It is highly probable that this was actually the emperor's intention: he had indeed wished that the catholic party had brought forward a distinct charge against the reformers, in which case he would have undertaken the part of an umpire between them. At the meeting of the States, Ferdinand had once made a proposal to that effect.

But the two brothers were not sufficiently masters of the assembly to accomplish this.

The majority which had been formed in Spires, and acquired greater compactness in Augsburg, regarded itself as the legitimate possessor of the authority of the empire. Though the catholic zeal of the two brothers was most agreeable to its wishes, it found many things to object to them. Ferdinand had obtained papal concessions of ecclesiastical revenues, — a thing which, though permitted in Spain, was unheard of in Germany. This excited universal disgust and resistance among the clergy. The majority declined constituting themselves as a party, and acknowledging the emperor as judge between them and the protestants. They declared that they had nothing new to propose; they had simply adhered to the imperial edict; if the emperor was in want of a charge to bring against the reformers, let him resort to that of contravention of his edict. Nay more; as it was the immemorial custom that the emperor should accede to the sentiments of the assembly of the empire, they were of opinion that he should now adopt their cause as his own. This was, in fact, requesting him to use his imperial power in this affair with the advice of the electors, princes, and estates of the empire. It was a matter of perfect indifference to them, that this was at variance with the express words of the convocation, since they were not the authors of it. The emperor was, in fact, compelled to relinquish his idea of a judicial mediation.

It has been usually asserted that traces are to be found of personal and independent negotiations



between the emperor and the protestants at this diet. The fact however is, that from this moment, the whole business was conducted by the majority of the States. Concerning the minutest point — *e. g.*, the communication of a document — the emperor was compelled to hold a consultation with them; he acted at last only as they deemed expedient.

It is much to be regretted that we have no protocols of the sittings of the catholic majority; we do not even know whether any were drawn up. Neither have any full and accurate reports come to light; and they are hardly to be expected, since the most considerable princes were present, and the delegates from the cities did not take part in the sittings.

All that we know is, that there was a division of opinion in the majority itself. The one party thought that the emperor ought at once to take up arms, and enforce the execution of his former edict. The archbishop of Salzburg said, "Either we must put an end to them, or they will put an end to us; which of the two suits us best?" An equally violent member of the assembly was heard to remark, jesting, that the Confession was written with black ink. "Were we emperor," said he, "we would put red rubrics to it." "Sir," rejoined another, "only take care that the red does not spirt up in your faces." All, as this answer shows, were not equally hostile. The archbishop of Mainz, in particular, pointed out the danger which would arise from an invasion of the Turks, in case of

an open breach with the protestants. It was at length determined to advise the emperor above all things to authorise a confutation of the Confession: meanwhile, an attempt might be made to arrange the differences between the temporal and spiritual estates. The emperor acted on this advice. He gave himself up to the hope that the settlement of these differences and the confutation of the Confession would, united, produce such an effect on the protestants as to induce them to yield.\*

The situation of the protestants was thus changed greatly for the worse.

Till now they had expected from the emperor's exalted position a fair appreciation of their conduct, and mediation between them and their adversaries; but they very soon perceived that he did not give, but receive the impulse; the old and bitter enemies with whom they had so long striven, constituting a majority, now directed all the measures of the imperial authority.

The confutation was set about with the utmost

\* The extracts in Bucholtz iii. throw peculiar light on these negotiations. A remarkable document belonging to them is to be found entire in Förstemann, vol. ii. p. 9. It is without a date, but it must be of the 9th or 10th of July, since the emperor mentions a question he had asked the protestants on the 9th,—*i. e.*, whether they intended to bring forward more articles; to which he had as yet received no answer. The answer was given on the 10th; but, perhaps, was not delivered till the day following. See the reports in Schmidt, viii. 244. Melancthon to Luther, 8th July. C. R. ii. 175.

zeal. There was no want of labourers. Not only the reforming theologians, but their opponents, had repaired to the diet with their respective princes; Faber, from Vienna, who was now become prebendary of Ofen; Eck, from Ingoldstadt; Cochläus, from Dresden; Wimpina, from Frankfurt on the Oder. With the prince bishops came their vicars, or learned officiating bishops; there were some eminent monks — capuchins, carmelites and especially dominicans; Paul Haug, the provincial; John Burkhard, the vicar; and the prior, Conrad Colli, who had written against Luther's marriage.\* It is not surprising that a man like Erasmus (who was also invited) felt no inclination to have his name

\* Eck brought, among other things, a book already printed at Ingolstadt under the following title: *Sub domini Jhesu et Mariæ patrocinio Articulos 404 partim ad disputationes Lipsicam Baden. et Bernen. attinentes partim vero ex scriptis pacem ecclesiæ perturbantium extractos coram divo Cæsare Carolo V. Ro. Imp. semper Augu. ac proceribus Imperii Joan. Eckius minimus ecclesiæ minister offert se disputaturum ut in scheda latius explicatur Augustæ Vindelicorum die et hora consensu Cæsaris posterius publicandis.* He mentions first the 41 articles condemned by the pope; "Assero, qui bullæ contradixerint, schismaticos esse ac fidei hostes, quos catholicus habet pro ethnicis et publicanis." He then cites the articles which he had defended at Leipzig and Baden, as well as those which he had opposed to the resolutions of Berne: lastly, "errores novi et veteres jam ventilati," under certain rubrics. He collects 404, "ex infinitis eorum erroribus hos paucos subitarie excerpsi." In his hurry, he has also mixed up with them some of Erasmus's maxims. The other side threw the *Propositiones de vino, venere, et balneo*, in his teeth, which we still see circulate among the catholic societies, and which made him an object of public ridicule.

associated with such as these. The men who were here to conduct the discussion were the representatives of the Aristotelic Dominican system, which so long ruled the schools of Europe, and which he had himself combated. With the literary weapons which they had hitherto wielded, they had accomplished little. Their whole strength lay in their connexion with power. They were now no longer private men; they were to speak and to write in the name of the empire.

They were not, it is true, left at absolute liberty. People dreaded their violence and their diffuseness, for each of them brought his old animosities and his old refutations of Lutheran opinions, which were not now in dispute.\* Their first draft was peremptorily returned to them by the assembly of the empire, admonishing them to confine themselves entirely to the article of the Confession. A second, shorter, which was next presented, was submitted, article by article, to minute discussion by the assembly. It was the third of August before the Confutation was prepared and could be read aloud in the fore-mentioned hall of the bishop's palace.

\* Cochläus printed some articles of this confutation in his book, *Philippicæ quatuor in apologiam Melanchthonis*, Lipsiæ, 1534. At the third article, sheet D., it is said therein; *damnent diras blasphemias — Lutheri errorem — suum Pugenhagium — Melanchthonem suum — Antonium Zimmerman, hominem insigniter Lutheranum — studiosum Lutheri discipulum Burguerum*. The passages worthy of condemnation from each are quoted. Hence it happened, as Cochläus said, "*quorundam consilium qui judicabant ejusmodi respensionem fore nimis acrem et prolixam.*"

It consists, like the Confession, of two parts ; the one treating of belief, the other of practice.

In the former, the contested question already approached the point at which it has since remained stationary. It was no longer maintained that the sacrament, the mere performance of the act, the *opus operatum*, merited grace. It was no longer taught that a good work done without grace was of the same nature as one done with grace ; that the difference between them was only one of degree. Those were the doctrines against which Luther had contended. A nearer approach was made to the more profound conception of justification through Christ which has since been almost universally adopted. If the catholics strove to retain the doctrine of the necessity of good works, it was in a different sense from that heretofore affixed to it.\*

This was, however, the only modification to which they consented.

On the other points they remained steadfast to the established system. They demanded the admission of the doctrine of transubstantiation, of the seven sacraments, and the invocation of saints ; they persisted in the denial of the cup, and the injunction of celibacy ; they even made an attempt (which, indeed, was certain to fail) to deduce these

\* See, besides the Confutation, *De principum protestantium confessione Joannis Eccii censura archiepiscopo Moguntino et Georgio D. S. Augustæ exhibita*, in *Cœlestin*, iii. 36. As this work, addressed to certain catholic princes, contains the essentials of the concessions made by some modern catholics, it puts an end to the imputation of hypocrisy which has been brought forward against them.

doctrines from passages of scripture, or from the usage of the earliest ages of the church, and in this attempt they stumbled again on the false decretals; they would not give up the sacrifice of the mass; and above all, they firmly adhered to the idea of the Latin, as the universal church. They defended the use of the Latin ritual in the mass, on the ground that the officiating priest belonged far more to the whole church, than to the particular congregation by which he happened to be surrounded.

In short, if, on the one side, the protestants were driven by the misinterpretation of doctrines, and by abusive practices, to recur directly to scripture, (understanding it in a sense corresponding with the fundamental notions of the primitive Latin church, but irreconcilable with the ideas and fictions of recent hierarchical times), on the other, their antagonists now consented to relinquish some of the most flagrant excrescences in doctrine, and to take into consideration the removal of the abuses which had already caused so many disputes between spiritual and temporal princes; they still, however, persisted in affirming that the whole hierarchical system was of immediate divine origin. We see them in search of a method—for they had as yet found none—by which to prove the conformity of their system with scripture.

This would not have been of so much importance, had they aimed only at self-defence. But that was by no means the case. The majority not only declared that they deemed this opinion just and catholic, conformable with the gospel, but they also

demanding that the protestant minority should erase the refuted articles from their Confession, and return to a unity of faith with the universal orthodox church. No attention was paid to their agreement in what was essential, ancient, and original, so long as the slightest difference, though only in accidental and unessential particulars, was discernible. Whatever had been altered, whether by the inevitable pressure of circumstances, or in consequence of the legal enactments of a former diet, was to be restored to its original state. The emperor declared himself entirely of this mind. At the end of the Confutation, which was published in his name, he admonished the evangelical party immediately to return to their obedience to the Roman and catholic church. If not, he must proceed against them as became a Roman emperor, the protector and steward of the church.

The time for mildness was over; the time for severity seemed to have arrived.

Already had the pope spoken.

At the very commencement of the meeting, the emperor had demanded a short statement of the most important demands of the protestants, drawn up by Melanchthon, which he communicated to the legate, who forwarded it to Rome. As far as we are able to ascertain, the following points were mentioned as indispensable:—Sacrament in both kinds; marriage of priests; omission of the canon in the mass; concession of the secularised church lands; and, lastly, discussion of the other contested questions at a council. The document was laid



before a consistory of cardinals on the 6th of July. What a moment would this have been, if they had but entered on the consideration of it in a conciliatory spirit! But they at once declared these articles at variance with the faith and discipline, no less than with the interests, of the church\*; they decided to reject the petition, and simply to thank the emperor for his zeal.

The assembly of the empire had itself exhorted the emperor to act as became the steward of the church.

Urged on either side, bound by his treaties, and exclusively surrounded by persons who either had no idea of the real character and views of the protestants, or had long been their enemies, — Charles assumed the sternest deportment. Not content with his general declarations, he showed his sentiments by his ungracious behaviour to individuals; to the elector John, especially, he expressed his displeasure that he had separated himself from the emperor, the defender of the faith, introduced innovations, and sought to form confederations. “His majesty also had a soul and a conscience, and would do nothing contrary to God’s word.” If the elector would not return to the faith which had been held by their forefathers for centuries†, his majesty, on his part, would not be disposed to grant

\* Pallavicini, from a cotemporaneous Diario, iii. iv. 280. *Articoli opposti — alla ragion della chiesa*. A sort of ecclesiastical reason of state.

† In the reprint in Müller, p. 672. it is said, for twenty or thirty years, which is doubtless an error of the pen.

him infeudation, nor any of the other favours which he craved.

#### RESISTANCE.

The might and energy of Latin Christendom was once more exhibited to the world in the person of the emperor. By his brilliant victories he had secured universal peace; even from the Ottoman power he had nothing to dread during the present, or probably the coming, year. The papal authority, as well as the collective power of the States of the empire, was on his side. On the other hand, the protestants had no religious or political support in any quarter; nor had they even the internal strength which a firm bond of union would have given them.

It might indeed be doubted whether German princes and lords, trained in the chivalrous life of courts, and converted to the new doctrines in mature age, by the arguments and instructions of strangers;—to whom a good understanding with their neighbours, and, in their more important affairs, the favour of the emperor, were indispensable, would have sufficient constancy to maintain their opinions in defiance of his express displeasure, and of the power concentrated in his person.

The immediate decision of this question depended on the most eminent and powerful among them, to whom the others looked up, and against whom the emperor chiefly directed his attacks—the Elector John of Saxony.

Elector John of Saxony, the last of the four ex-

cellent sons of Elector Ernest, — educated with the greatest care, at Grimma, to qualify him for either the spiritual or the temporal dignities of the empire — the progenitor of the Ernestine house, which has now such numerous and flourishing branches\* — did not possess the political genius, nor the acute and penetrating mind of his brother Frederic. On the other hand, he was remarkable from his childhood for good nature and frankness, — “without guile and without bile,” as Luther said, — yet full of that moral earnestness which gives weight and dignity to simplicity of character. He is believed to have lived to his thirty-second year, when he married, in perfect chastity †; there is at least no trace of the contrary. The brilliant and tumultuous knightly festivals in which he sometimes took part at the court of Maximilian, afforded him no satisfaction, although he always made a distinguished figure at them; he once said, at a later period of his life, that not one of these days had passed without a sorrow. ‡ He was not born for the amusements and dissipations of the world; the disgust which inevitably attends them made too deep an impression on him, and gave

\* These are, the house of Weimar, and that of Gotha, in its three subordinate lines, S. Meiningen Hildburghausen, S. Altenburg, and S. Coburg-Gotha. — TRANSL.

† Spalatin, Von Herzog Hansen zu Sachsen Churfürsten, in Struve’s newly published Archives, iii. 16.; unfortunately much less fertile in information than the same author’s Nachricht über Friedrich d. W.

‡ An expression of his in Beckmann’s *Anhaltischer Geschichte*, II. v. p. 140.

him more pain than their frivolous enjoyments gave him pleasure. With his brother, who was his coregent, he never had a difference; never did the one engage a person in his service without the full consent of the other. From the first appearance of Luther in the world, John embraced his doctrines with the most joyful sympathy; his serious and profoundly religious mind was gradually but completely imbued with them. His greatest enjoyment was, to have the scriptures, which he now heard for the first time, read aloud to him in an evening; sometimes he fell asleep, — for he was already far advanced in years, — but he awoke repeating the last verse that had dwelt upon his memory. He occasionally wrote down Luther's sermons, and there is extant a copy of the lesser catechism in his handwriting.\* Examples are not wanting, both before and since his time, of princes whose powers of action have been paralysed by absorption in religious contemplation; but with him this was not the case; notwithstanding the extreme simplicity of his character, he was not less conspicuous for elevation and force of will. When, during the peasants' war, the cause of the princes was in so tottering a state, he did not disguise from himself that a terrible convulsion might ensue; he was prepared for reverses, and was heard to say that he could content himself with a horse or two, and be a man like other men; but this sentiment did not prevent his defending his good right as bravely as any of his brother princes;

\* Cyprian, *Geschichte der Augsburgischen Confession*, p. 184.

only he used his victory with greater clemency. It would be difficult to point out a moment in the subsequent years of his reign, in which he could have indulged in a merely contemplative piety. We know of no prince to whom a larger portion of the merit of the establishment of the protestant church can justly be ascribed. His brother and predecessor had merely not suffered the new doctrines to be crushed; he had taken them under his protection in his own dominions, and, so far as it was possible, in the empire. But when John assumed the government, there were rocks on either side, on which the whole cause might have gone to wreck, and which could only have been avoided by a policy founded on those lofty convictions that never for a moment failed or wavered. The peasants' war was followed by violent tendencies to a re-action; and urgently as the adoption of these was pressed upon him by his worldly-wise and experienced cousin, John did not allow himself to be mastered by them. On the contrary, the course which he took at the ensuing diet contributed to the passing of that Recess on which the whole subsequent legal structure of protestantism was reared. It soon indeed appeared as if the impetuosity of his Hessian ally would hurry the elector into a series of political perplexities of which nobody could foresee the end; but his calmer and better judgment saved him in time, and he returned to that defensive position which was natural to him, and which he was able to maintain. His sole object and endeavour was

to give to the new doctrines an utterance and a recognised existence in his dominions. He introduced into Germany the first evangelical form of church government, which, in a greater or less degree, served as model for all others. He speedily put a stop to the arbitrary acts of his nobles; mild and sweet tempered as he was, he was not to be induced to grant any unjust favour, and he censured his son for listening more than was prudent to those about him. In all these respects Luther had the greatest influence over him; Luther knew how to set the secret springs of this pure and noble soul in motion at the fitting time, and to keep this upright conscience constantly awake. Thus, therefore, it was John of Saxony who took the lead in that Protest which gave its name and position to the whole party. For when justice and religion were on his side, he knew not hesitation; he sometimes quoted the proverb, "Strait forward makes a good runner." ("Gradaus giebt einen guten Renner.") He was by nature retiring, peaceful, unpretending; but he was raised to such a pitch of resolution and energy by the greatness of his purposes, that he showed himself fully equal to their accomplishment.

Here, in Augsburg, had Elector John to stand the test, whether his intentions were unadulterated gold, or whether they were mixed with any baser matter.

He felt the reverence for the emperor natural to a prince of the empire, and at first he had no doubt of being easily able to reconcile that sentiment with his religious convictions. But it very soon became



obvious that this would be impossible; and in order to avert the danger from the head of their prince, some of his learned men reverted to the old idea, that he should not espouse their cause, but leave it to stand or fall by itself. They were prepared to deliver in the Confession solely in their own names. The elector replied, "I too will confess my Christ." ("Ich will meinen Christus auch mit bekennen.")

From that time the emperor evinced more and more alienation from him. "We have prayed his imperial majesty," says the elector, in one of his letters\*, "to invest us with the electoral dignity according to the feudal forms; this has been refused to us. We stand at a great cost here, having just now been obliged to borrow 12,000 gulden; his imperial majesty has, as yet, given us no word of promise. We cannot think otherwise than that we have been sorely slandered to his imperial majesty, and that this has befallen us through our own kinsfolk."

We see the state of mind to which he had already been brought; and now followed the confutation and the threatening declaration annexed to it.

That he, with his narrow strip of land on the Elbe and his little Thuringia, — without any allies on whom he could rely — could offer resistance to the emperor, who had just achieved so exalted and commanding a station and was enabled to enforce the ancient ordinances of Latin Christendom, was too wild a thought to be seriously entertained for

\* To Nicolas v. Ende, Amtmann in Georgenthal, 28 July.



a moment. He was, moreover, paralysed by the doubt, whether he had a right to resist, and rather inclined to the opinion that it could in no case be justifiable.

Care was taken to let him know clearly what awaited him. A prince greatly in the confidence of the court, told him one day that, if he would not submit, the emperor would attack him with an armed force, drive him from his country and his people, and execute the extremest rigours of the law on his person.\*

The elector doubted not that it might come even to this. He came home greatly moved, and expressed his consternation that he was required either to deny what he had acknowledged to be the truth, or to plunge, with all belonging to him, into irretrievable ruin.

Luther affirms that, had John wavered, not one of his council would have stood firm.

But his simple and straight-forward mind viewed the question laid before him in so clear and direct a light, that his decision was inevitable. "Either deny God or the world," said he,—“who can doubt which is better? God has made me an elector of

\* Müller, Geschichte der Protestation, p. 715. One proof how widely diffused were anxieties of this kind, is a report which Zwingli received from Venice in the beginning of the year 1530, in which the emperor's schemes are thus described; "the emperor would bring Duke George of Saxony to Duke John, from whom he would take away his *status* (Stand), so that he be no longer an electing prince, and would take upon him to give it to Duke George." Archiv für schweiz. Geschichte, i. p. 278.

the empire, a dignity of which I never was worthy ; let him do with me further according to his good pleasure."

A dream which he had about this time affords a curious proof of what was passing in his mind. He was seized with that sort of stifling oppression in which the sleeper feels as if he were expiring under a crushing weight. He dreamt that he lay under a mountain, on the summit of which stood his cousin George ; towards morning the mountain crumbled away, and his hostile kinsman fell down by his side.

In short, the aged prince neither quailed nor wavered. Great events rarely come to pass without those great moral efforts which are the necessary, though hidden germs of new social and political institutions. Elector John continued to declare that the emperor should find him a loyal and peaceful prince in every respect ; but that he would never be able to induce him to regard the eternal truth as not the truth, or the imperishable word of God as not God's word.

The man who had the greatest influence in keeping him steady to this determination, was unquestionably Luther, though he was not with him.

Luther's sentence of ban was not yet revoked, and though he had remained secure in spite of it, the elector could not bring him to the diet. He left him at Coburg, on the frontier of his territory.

It was a great advantage to Luther that he was not involved in the turmoil of affairs, and of the

incidents of the day; he could thus take a more comprehensive view of what was passing.

He was struck with surprise that the emperor appeared so intimately connected with the pope, and so secure of the French; and that the States of the empire had again espoused the pope's party. He treated these things with a sort of irony. "Monsieur Par-ma-foi," as he called the king of France, would, he thought, never forget the disgrace of the battle of Pavia: Master In nomine Domini (the pope) would not be much delighted with the devastation of Rome; their amity with the emperor belonged to the chapter, *Non credimus*.\* He could not understand how the princes took it so easily that the pope had crowned the emperor without their presence.† He compared their assembly with the conclave of jackdaws before his window; there he witnessed the same journeying to and fro; the clamours and pratings of the whole flock; the monotonous preaching of the sophists. "A right useful folk to consume all that the earth brings forth, and to while away the heavy time with chattering."‡ It struck him particularly that the state of things when he first rose into notice, seemed to be entirely forgotten; he reminded his friends that, at that time, the sale of indulgences,

\* To Teutleben, 19th June.

† To the elector of Mainz, 6th July.

‡ To his Table Companions, 28th April, and to Spalatin, 9th May. (A translation of this sportive letter may be found in a little volume of *Fragments from German Prose Writers*. — TRANSL.)

and the doctrine, that God might be satisfied by pious works, were universally prevalent; that new services, pilgrimages, relics, and, to crown all, the fable of the garment of Christ, were daily brought forward; that masses were bargained for and sold for a few pence, more or less, and held to be a sacrifice well pleasing to God. He called to remembrance that the most effectual weapons for putting down the peasants' war (at least those of a literary kind), had been used by the protestants; as a requital for which their enemies were now labouring for their destruction. For he had never for a moment doubted how this matter would end: from the time the emperor had prohibited the preaching, he had ceased to have the slightest hope of reconciliation; he saw that Charles would urge all the subordinate princes to renounce their opinions. Not that he thought the emperor himself disposed to violence; on the contrary, he never speaks of "the noble blood of emperor Charles" without reverence; but he knows in what hands their good lord is; he beholds in him only the mask behind which their old enemies are concealed; and these, he is persuaded, meditate nothing but force, and trust to their superior numbers. He thinks that the Florentine who now occupies the papal chair, will find some opportunity to cause streams of German blood to flow.

But these prospects did not affright him. "Let them do as they list," said he, "they are not at the end yet."

He could not think of receding one step further. "Day and night," said he, "I live in these things. I search the scriptures, I reflect, I discuss; I daily feel increasing certainty; I will not allow more to be taken from me, let what God wills befall me in consequence." He laughs at the demands of the catholics for restitution. "Let them first," he exclaims, "restore the blood of Leonhard Kaiser and of so many other innocent men whom they have murdered!"

His intrepidity is solely the result of his persuasion that his cause is the cause of God. "Some are sorrowful," he says, "as if God had forgotten us; but he cannot forget us, he must first forget himself; our cause must be not his cause, our doctrine not his work. Were Christ not with us, where then were he in the world? If we have not God's word, who then has it?" He consoles himself with the words, "Trust to me; I have overcome the world."

"The Lord dwelleth in the mist; he hath his dwelling-place in the darkness. Man seeth not what he is; but he will be the Lord, and we shall see it."

"And if we are not worthy, it will be brought to pass by others. Have our forefathers made us to be what we are? God alone, who will be the Creator after us, as he was before us, causes it to be with us even as it is. For he, the God that ruleth the thoughts, will not die with us. If the enemy put me to death, I shall be better avenged than I

could desire: there will be one who will say, Where is thy brother Abel?"

In this temper of mind are all his letters of that time written. Never was a man more intensely penetrated with the immediate presence of the Divine Being. He knew the eternal, all-conquering powers in whose service he was engaged; he knew them, such as they had revealed themselves, and he called upon them by their names. He rested with dauntless courage on the promises which they had given to the human race, in the psalms or the gospel.

He spoke with God as with a present Lord and Father. His amanuensis in Coburg once heard him praying to himself:—"I know that thou art our God," exclaimed he; "that thou wilt destroy them that persecute thy people; didst thou not thus, thou wouldst abandon thine own cause; it is not our cause,—we have been compelled to embrace it; thou therefore must defend it." He prayed with the manly courage which feels its right to the protection of the divine power to whom it has devoted itself; his prayer plunges into the depths of the godhead, without losing the sense of its personality; he does not desist till he has the feeling of being heard—the greatest of which the human heart, raised above all delusion, is in its holiest moments susceptible. "I have prayed for thee," he writes to Melanchthon, "I have felt the Amen in my heart."

A genuine expression of this frame of mind was the hymn, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott" ("Our

God is a strong tower"), the composition of which is justly attributed to this period.\* It professes to be a paraphrase of the 16th Psalm, but is in fact merely suggested by it; it is completely the product of the moment in which Luther, engaged in a conflict with a world of foes, sought strength in the consciousness that he was defending a divine cause that could never perish. He seems to lay down his arms, but it was in fact the manliest renunciation of a momentary success, with the certainty of that which is eternal. How triumphant and animated is the melody! how simple and steady, how devout and elevated! It is identical with the words; they arose together in those stormy days.

Such was his temper of mind, when he exhorted not only his nearest friends, but the elector and his councils to be of good courage.

He told his prince to take comfort, that no other crime was imputed to him than the defence of the pure and living word of God. Therein indeed consisted all his honour. In his land he had the best preachers; childhood and youth grew up in the knowledge of the catechism and the word of God, so that it was a joy to see them; this was the

\* Cœlestin affirms this. Olearius, on the other hand, mentions that this hymn is to be found in a collection of 1529. He means, however, only a collection of Lutheran hymns, dated 1529, in the *Jen. und Altenb. Ausg. luth. Werke*; but which, like many other of his assertions, is founded on error. No where else is there any trace of a collection of 1529, and we may be permitted to doubt of its existence. The one published under that title also contains later hymns.



paradise over which God had set him as guardian ; he did not only protect the word, he maintained and nourished it, and therefore it came to his aid. "Oh !" exclaims he, "the young will be your helpers, who with their innocent tongues call so heartily on Heaven."

"I have lately seen two wonders," writes he to Chancellor Brück. "The first, — I looked out of the window at the stars of heaven, and the whole beautiful vaulted roof of God, and could nowhere see a pillar upon which the Master had placed his roof ; and yet it stands fast. The other, — I saw thick clouds hanging over us, and yet no ground upon which they rested, no vessel in which they were contained ; yet they fell not, but greeted us with a gloomy countenance and passed on : for God's thoughts are far above our thoughts ; if we are only certain that our cause is his cause, so is our prayer already heard and our help already at hand : — if the emperor granted us peace, as we wish, the emperor would have the honour ; but God himself will give us peace, that he alone may have the honour."\*

A determined will has always the power of carrying others along with it. How resistless must it then be in one so filled with the Spirit of God ! Luther exercised perhaps a greater influence over his followers from a distance, than his continual presence could have given him.

All the other princes vyed with Elector John in firmness.

\* 4th Aug., in De Wette iv.

It was on this occasion that Duke Ernest of Lüneburg won the name of the Confessor. Instead of receding a single step, he received into his intimacy Urbanus Rhegius, the chief promoter of the reformation in his duchy, and took him home from Augsburg, as the most precious treasure that he could bring his people.

The emperor and the king had promised Markgrave George of Brandenburg to favour his interests if he would renounce the new doctrine; a consideration of the more weight, since Brandenburg had even then claims on certain possessions in Silesia; but the markgrave rejected every proposal of the kind.\* Nor was this all; his powerful and zealously catholic cousin, Elector Joachim, was not less urgent with him to quit the evangelical party, and bitter altercations took place between them. The markgrave declared his conviction that the doctrine could not be called an error, so long as Christ was really Christ: it taught a man to turn himself to Christ alone; of this he had full experience. Without entering seriously on the discussion of this point, the elector mainly insisted on the emperor's determination to restore every thing to its former state. The markgrave replied, that the emperor might abolish what he chose; that he himself must submit, but that he would not assist in the work. The elector asked whether the markgrave recollected what he had at stake. He replied,

\* Letter to the kinsmen of the house of Brandenburg (Stammesvettern), 19th July; Förstemann, ii. 93.

“ They say I am to be driven out of my country. I must commit the matter into God’s hands.” \*

Wolfgang of Anhalt was by no means a powerful prince, nevertheless he said with the greatest calmness, “ Many a time have I taken horse in the cause of my good masters and friends, and my lord Christ deserves that I should venture something for his sake also.” “ Master Doctor,” said he to Eck, “ if you are thinking of war, you will find people ready on this side likewise.” †

Such being the disposition of the other reformers, it was not likely that the high-spirited landgrave would be brought to concede any thing. The Hessian chronicler, Lauze, relates that, after the Confession had been delivered in, certain men had taken the landgrave to the top of a high mountain, and shown him all the good things of the world; that is, had held out to him hopes of favour in the affairs of Nassau and Würtemberg; but that he had refused them all. ‡ One day he heard that the emperor intended to reprove him; instantly, accoutred as he was, he hurried to court, and begged the emperor to state the acts by which he had incurred his displeasure. The emperor enumerated some, whereupon the landgrave gave an explanation which Charles accepted as satisfactory. But the grand difficulty was yet to come; the emperor

\* Cotemporaneous notes commencing these negotiations, *passim*, 630.

† Beckmann’s *Anhaltische Chronik*, ii. v. 142.

‡ Letter of the Nürnberg envoy, C. R. ii. 167.

required him to show himself a dutiful subject in the matter of the faith, and added, that otherwise he would take the course which beseemed him as Roman emperor. But threats were still vainer than promises. Philip was moreover daily more impatient of an assembly in which, conformably to the hierarchical rules of the empire, he held a position by no means corresponding with his power. He begged the emperor to dismiss him; and as the latter refused, he one evening rode away without leave.\* He wrote from a distance to the elector of Saxony, to assure him that he would stake body and goods, land and people, with him and with God's word. "Bid the cities," he writes to his council, "that they be not women, but men; there is no fear, — God is on our side."

And in fact the cities proved themselves not unworthy of the princes. "Our mind is," say the Nürnberg delegates, "not to give way, for by so doing we should put the emperor's favour above that of God; God, we doubt not, will grant us steadfastness." The bürgermeister and council were of the same mind as their delegates.

Others at a distance took part in these events in a similar spirit. "Your Grace," write the councillors of Magdeburg to the elector of Saxony, "stands carrying on a perilous struggle in the

\* 6th August. On the 30th July he had entered into an alliance with Zürich, which had a great influence on his conduct. See Escher und Hottinger, *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch. und Landeskunde* i., 426.

affairs of all Christendom, under the banner of our Saviour: we pray to God daily to grant you patience and strength."

Things had thus already assumed a distinct shape in Germany. On the one side was a majority, claiming all the rights and privileges of the empire, united with the emperor, and allied with the powers of ancient Europe; on the other, a minority struggling for its existence, isolated and formless but full of religious fortitude and constancy. The majority, with the emperor at their head, meditated using force\*; steps were already taken for raising troops in Italy.† The minority had as yet no plan; they only knew that they were determined not to yield.

But, it might be asked, was not every violent measure full of danger to the majority of the States also? They were not sure of their own subjects; the suggestion of the elector of Mainz, as to the danger with which both parties were threatened in case of a well-timed invasion by the Turks, made a deep impression. From these considerations the original proposal of the pacific party, incorporated in the resolutions of the diet, was adopted, and an attempt at mediation resolved on.

\* Butzer feared a "*laniena sanctorum qualis vix Diocletiani tempore fuit.*" 14 Aug. 1530, Röhrich ii. p. 136.

† Nicc. Tiepolo Relatione. Essendo in Augusta intesi che si offeressero (the two dukes of Bavaria) all' imperatore volendo lui muover guerra a Lutheranis, e seppi che tentorno col duca di Mantova d'haver il modo di condur 1000 cavalli leggieri d'Italia in caso si facesse guerra in Germania.

## ATTEMPT OF THE STATES TO MEDIATE.

On the 16th of August a conference was opened, in which two princes, two doctors of canon law, and three theologians of each party took part, and which soon appeared to promise great results.

The dogmatical points at issue presented no insuperable difficulties. On the article of original sin, Eck gave way as soon as Melanchthon proved to him that an expression objected to in his definition was in fact merely a popular explanation of an ancient scholastic one. Respecting the article on justification "through faith alone," Wimpina expressly declared that no work was meritorious, if performed without grace\*; he required the union of love with faith; and only in so far he objected to the word "alone." In this sense, however, the protestants had no desire to retain it; they consented to its erasure; their meaning had always been merely that a reconciliation with God must be effected by inward devotion, not by outward acts. On the other hand, Eck declared, that the satisfaction which the catholic church required to be made by penitence, was nothing else than reformation; an explanation which certainly left nothing further to be objected

\* Eck too says in his opinion, "De principum protestantium confessione Johannis Eccii censura (Cœlestin, iii. 36.): quod opera de sua natura et in se non essent meritoria, sed solum ex Deo et gratia Dei assistente.

to the doctrine of the necessity of satisfaction.\* Even on the difficult point of the sacrifice of the mass, there was a great approximation. Eck explained the sacrifice as merely a sacramental sign, in remembrance of that which was offered up on the cross.† The presence of Christ in the eucharist was not debated. The protestants were easily persuaded to acknowledge not only a true, but also a real presence. This addition is actually inserted in the Ansbach copy of the Confession.

It was certainly not the difference in the fundamental conceptions of the Christian dogma which perpetuated the contest. Luther had done nothing more than revive and re-establish the primitive doctrines of the Latin church, which had been buried under the hierarchical systems of later times, and an ever-increasing load of abuses. Such diversities as those we have just mentioned might be reciprocally tolerated; and indeed different opinions had always co-existed. The real cause of rupture lay in the constitution and practices of the church.

And with respect to these the protestants gave way as much as possible. They were persuaded

\* Spalatin, who performed the duties of a notary at the first sitting, in Förstemann, ii. p. 228. In like manner is Eck's singular expression to be understood (Cœlestin, p. 36.): *Nos ponimus satisfactionem tertiam partem pœnitentiæ, ipsi vero fatentur, sequi debere fructus bonorum operum, ubi iterum lis est verbalis, non realis.*

† Account in Cœlestin, iii. 45. *Est ergo missa non revera victima, sed mysterialis et repræsentativa.*



that the division was an obstacle to good discipline in church and school; and that the government of the church would be both ill-conducted and costly in the hands of the temporal sovereigns. The protestant princes and theologians declared themselves ready to restore to the bishops their jurisdiction, right of anathema, and control over benefices; provided only that no attempt was made to abridge the liberty of reading and expounding the gospel.\* They were even disposed to observe fasts; not as an ordinance of God, but for the sake of good order; and, in regard to confession, to admonish the people to confess all matters whereon they felt a want of advice and consolation;—concessions which, in fact, included a restoration of the externals of the church to an extent no longer to be expected.

Nor is there any ground for the assertion, that the refusal of the protestants to restore the property of the suppressed convents was the obstacle to a reconciliation. Though the protestants retorted upon their antagonists the charge of worse acts of spoliation—such as the seizure of the bishopric of Utrecht by the emperor—an event of far greater importance than the suppression of a few convents, seeing that the constitution of the church was founded on

\* Unexpected answer, Förstemann, ii. 256. Compare with the Reflexions, idem, p. 245. p. 75. From the latter it appears, that they tried to derive all hierarchical institutions expressly from human laws, including even the papacy itself, which, on those conditions, might be tolerated. How far Luther assented to this may be seen in Reflexions signed by him. Walch. xx. 2178.

bishops, not on monks,—yet the elector of Saxony at last offered to place all the suppressed convents under sequestration; the sequestrees, honourable men chosen from among the nobility of the land, were to pledge themselves to the emperor to allow nothing to be abstracted from the property, till a council should decide on its application.\*

Such were the advances once more made by the protestants to the church of Rome, and to the majority in the empire. It is difficult to understand how the latter did not meet them with eagerness.

On one point the committee of the majority made a great concession to the protestants. It expressed the hope of obtaining, at the ensuing council, the general admission of married priests, according to the example of the primitive church.† It also opposed no scruple to the sacrament in both kinds.

After so near an approximation, of what importance were a few differences in practice? Was it necessary to sacrifice to them the unity of the empire and the nation, and the blessings of peace?

That such was the lamentable result, may be mainly ascribed to the inability of the catholic leaders to act as perhaps they would have wished. We know that the affair had been already discussed

\* Sächsische Apologia. Müller, p. 861. and the Archiv. of Förstemann, p. 150.

† “That the conjugati should be admitted to priest’s estate and ordained, in like manner, as was the usage for some centuries in old times in the first churches.” Unschlüssige und unvergriffliche christliche Mittel. (Undecided and impracticable christian Measures.—Proposals of the Catholic Committee.) Förstemann, ii. p. 250.

and decided at the papal court. The papal legate, Campeggi, did not neglect to visit the emperor at the critical moment, in order to inflame his catholic zeal, and bring him back to the views of the Curia.\* He maintained that all the ordinances of the church were immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. He worked on the minds of the States by similar arguments, and at length they required that, until the decision of the council, the protestants should appoint no more married priests to benefices; they persisted in compulsory confession; they would consent neither to the omission of the canon in the mass, nor the abolition of private masses in protestant countries; and, lastly, they required that the participation in the Lord's Supper in one kind should be declared not less valid than in both.

These, however, were concessions which would have as completely destroyed the infant work of protestant organisation as those demanded in 1529. Half-formed convictions would thus have been shaken to their very foundations. The protestants were prepared not to condemn the sacrament in one kind; but it was impossible for them to resolve to declare it equally conformable with scripture as

\* Thom. Leodius, *Vita Friderici Palatini*, vii. 151. Ut intellexit, ita rejecit. See Melancthon to Camerarius. Corp. Ref. ii. 590. To this also tended Campeggi's first observations. "I santi padri," says he, "con la santità della vita, osservantia delli precetti divini, con summa vigilantia e studio si sono sforzati a partecipare del spirito santo, dal quale senza dubbio spinti hanno così santamente ordinate tutte le cose della chiesa."

their own form, "since," as they affirmed, "Christ instituted the Sacrament in both kinds." Nor could they be expected to re-introduce the private masses which they had so vehemently denounced as utterly at variance with the idea of the sacrament. This would have been to destroy their own work, notwithstanding their conviction that they had undertaken it on just grounds.

As the negotiations advanced too, every step revealed a greater difference of fundamental principles than the parties had avowed to themselves. The catholics regarded the ordinances of ecclesiastical authority as the rule which admitted, at the utmost, of rare exceptions. The protestants, on the contrary, saw the rule of faith and life in scripture alone; they would admit the peculiar institutions of the Romish church only conditionally, and in so far as it was wholly unavoidable.\* The former derived all the ordinances of the church from divine right; the latter saw in them only human and revocable institutions. But little was gained so long as the protestants were unanimously inclined to regard the papacy as an earthly and human institution, and therefore needing limitations; since the religious ideas of the opposite party were entirely founded on the divine right of the catholic church, and the character of its head as Vicar of Christ.

\* Brenz spoke of a *preceptum dispensabile in casu necessitatis*. The necessity is to him the decree of the Romish Church, which, however, he by no means regards as justified thereby.

And even had they come to some sort of understanding, and settled some terms of compromise, it would have been almost impossible to put them in execution. What difficulties, for example, would the re-establishment of bishoprics have created! The character of the new church rested mainly on the independence of the lower clergy, and its immediate connexion with the territorial power. The old antipathy of the cities was already aroused by the suggestion; the Nürnbergers declared they would never again submit to the domination of a bishop.\*

Another and a less numerous meeting, consisting of only three members on either side, was convened towards the end of August, after the first negotiations were broken off; but on following their discussions with attention, we find that they never approached the point which the former assembly had reached.

Some isolated attempts at conciliation were afterwards made. Duke Henry of Brunswick had a conference with the son of the elector John Frederick, in the garden of a citizen of Augsburg. In the church of St. Maurice, the chancellor of Baden made certain proposals to the chancellor of Saxony, who was accompanied by Melanchthon: these were discussed for a time, but could lead to no results.

The protestant party had conceded as much as possible, consistently with their religious convictions; they had reached the farthest limits of compliance; nay, murmurs were already heard

\* Opinion of Spengler in Hausdorfs *Leben Spenglers*. p. 65.

in their own body against the concessions that had been made ; it was impossible to induce them to advance a single step farther. During these negotiations elector John exhorted the theologians to look only at the cause, and to take no thought for him or his land.

Nor was any farther concession to be extorted from the other side, fettered as it was by the pope.

#### NEGOTIATIONS OF THE EMPEROR.

It was impossible that the emperor should be inclined to acquiesce in such a termination of the diet, or to allow it to disperse thus. He was, on the contrary, deeply impressed with the conviction, that an interminable train of still greater evils and troubles must then ensue.\*

At the very beginning of the deliberations, the catholic majority had repeated the demand for a council, and Charles, who already contemplated an ecclesiastical assembly from his own peculiar point of view, as emperor, had written about it to the pope. Clement VII. laid the demand before a congregation which he had appointed to settle matters of faith. Many declared themselves against it, especially on the two following grounds ; first, because persons who had rejected the former councils would not consent to a new one ; secondly,

\* An opinion presented to the diet (Brüssels Archives) says, " La matière ne peut pas demeurer en ces termes sans en attendre pis et inconvénient irréparable."

because any attack on the part of the Turks would be far more dangerous while the public attention was absorbed by these internal affairs. But the pope was bound by the promises he had made during his captivity in the castle of St. Angelo, as well as by expressions he had let fall in conversation at Bologna: he therefore entreated the emperor once more maturely to weigh the thing; but if his majesty, who was on the spot, and whose zeal for the catholic religion was undoubted, held it to be absolutely necessary, he also would consent; but only under the condition laid down by the emperor and States themselves—that the protestants must, till then, dutifully return to the rite and the doctrines of the holy mother church. He proposed Rome as the most suitable place for the meeting.\*

It was in consequence of this correspondence that, on the 7th of September, the emperor sent a message to the protestants, in which he announced the council; adding, however, “that they must in the interval conform to the faith and practice of the emperor, the States, and the universal Christian church.”

Did Charles really believe, after all that had passed, that a command of this nature would be obeyed? Such an expectation would only prove that

\* All' imperatore di man propria di Clemente (L. di pr. ii. 197): Pregatala prima che esami ni maturamente — dico a V. M. che son contento che quella, in caso giudichi esser così necessario, offerisca e prometta la convocatione del concilio, con conditione però, che appartandosi da' loro errori tornino incontinentemente al viver Catholicamente.



the temper and modes of thinking of the protestants were for ever closed and unintelligible to him. They had already heard of the intended proposal, and were prepared. They replied, that to comply with such a demand would be to run counter to God and their consciences; and that, moreover, they were not legally bound to do so; that the council granted was a consequence of previous decrees of the empire, but that no condition like that now attached to it had ever been so much as discussed. No resolutions which the majority might recently have passed in Spires to this effect could possibly bind those who had solemnly protested against the whole proceedings there. In the oral communication the emperor had described them as a sect; against this they entered an immediate and solemn protest.\*

We are in possession of the letter which the emperor hereupon sent to the pope; it proves that he was no less mortified than incensed. "They have answered me," says he, "in the stubbornness of their error, whereupon I am reflecting what to do."

As the necessity of having recourse to force already arose in prospect before him, he thought that, although the mediation of the States had so utterly failed, he might be able to effect something by his personal interference. "In order that all our measures may be more completely justified,"

\* Remarks on the Ansbach Acts, in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, ii. 393. *Sächsische Apologia* in Förstemann's *Arch.* 136.

he continues, "it seems good to me that I should speak with them myself, both jointly and severally, which I think immediately to proceed in." Not, therefore, without giving notice to the court of Rome, he offered the protestants his personal endeavours to discover means of restoring unity, previous to the meeting of the council.

He deceived himself greatly, however, if he hoped to accomplish any thing with the protestants by means of such a missive as he now addressed to them. In this he maintained the nullity of the Protest, without going into the grounds on which it rested, and solely because it was reasonable and expedient that so insignificant a number should yield to the majority: he likewise expressed his astonishment that the catholic deputies had carried their concessions so far. As the protestants had already expressed their final decision, they could not do otherwise than reject a negotiation founded on such assumptions as these. They entered into no discussion of the religious questions in their answer; they only sought to make the legality of their proceedings clear to the emperor. They replied, that they were determined to take their stand on the Recesses of the diets of 1524 and 1526—a position from which no majority could remove them—and asked for nothing save external peace.\*

Inevitable as such an answer was, it deeply

\* Answer of the Protestants dated 8th Sept. Fürstemann's Urkunden, ii. 411.

offended the emperor. He gave the protestants to understand that he had received the same "with notable displeasure." He says in one of his letters that he cannot describe what vexation this affair causes him. Clinging tenaciously to the idea of the Latin church and animated by a chivalrous sort of ambition, he had hoped to triumph over all his enemies. Instead of this he saw himself involved in a dispute, the very grounds of which were unintelligible to him.\*

In fact he now thought that all peaceful means were exhausted, and that he must have recourse to arms. In the letter to the pope to which we have just alluded, he says, "Force is what would now bring the most fruit;" and he was only restrained by the consideration that he was not sufficiently prepared. After the second answer of the protestants had been sent in, he declared to the majority of the States, that, as he could consent to nothing prejudicial to the faith, and as all conciliatory measures had been of no avail, he was ready to risk his possessions and his person in the cause, and with the aid and counsel of the States, to do whatever might be necessary. He would likewise seek assistance from the pope and other sovereigns.

This thought had been entertained in his privy council from the very commencement of the diet. Should the protestants remain obstinate, and, as their enemies wished, refuse to submit either to the judgment of the emperor or to the council, the

\* Förstemann's Urkunden, ii. Heller's Report, 422.

legate was to be consulted as to the kind of force to be employed.\*

The emperor appeared disposed to treat the protestants as he had done the Moors in Spain. Had he been fully prepared with munitions of war, and had he not been bound by the resolutions of the majority, he would probably, spite of his natural mildness, have been led by his consistent adherence to engagements, to proceed immediately in this work.

It is, however, not surprising that the majority of the diet had some hesitation in assenting to such a course. Certain interests had been agitated (as we have already mentioned), about which the States were not fully agreed with the emperor†; they were not disposed to follow him implicitly in a crusade. The old sentiments of members of the empire had not yet so entirely given place to religious hatred. On the contrary, at this moment the project of electing a king of the Romans (to which we shall shortly recur) excited fresh dissatisfaction among them.

The States submitted a project of a Recess, which held out, indeed, a menace of war, but at a dis-

\* Si lesdits Lutheriens - - demeurent obstinez, il faut savoir l'intention du Sieur Legat, comment et par quels moyens on pourra proceder contre eux par rigueur.

† Königlich wurde zu Hungern sc. Revocation der babstlichen bulle so auf den vierten Teil d' geistlichen gutter erlangt. The revocation of the papal bull is demanded for the fourth part of the ecclesiastical lands, by the king in Hungary, &c. Förstemann's Urk. ii. 843.

stance; the protestants were to be allowed time for repentance till the next 5th of May, in order to explain themselves on the articles on which it had been found impossible to come to an agreement.

Unfortunately, however, this project was also conceived in terms which wounded the feelings of the protestants. It was said, that they must compel no one to join their sect;—the word and the thing were equally odious to them: it contained ordinances to which they did not think themselves at liberty to submit; *e.g.* not to allow any thing relating to matters of faith to be printed within the period assigned, and to allow monks to confess and say mass; and lastly, it was expressly asserted that the Confession had been confuted with arguments drawn from the holy scripture. By accepting and subscribing this Recess, they would have signed the condemnation of their own cause. They rejected it without a moment's hesitation. They not only explicitly stated the grounds of their refusal, but seized the opportunity offered them by the assertion that the Confession had been confuted, to lay before the emperor an apology for it. On all main points the apology is like the Confession; but, if I mistake not, the nature and style of the former recede still more widely from catholicism.

This brought down upon them another storm. Elector Joachim of Brandenburg announced to them, that if they refused to accept the Recess, the emperor and States were determined to venture person and property, land and people, in order to

put an end to this matter. The emperor declared that he would consent to no further alterations; if the protestant party would accept the Recess, there it was: if not, he, the emperor, in concert with all the other Estates, must take immediate measures for the extirpation of their sect.

But if former threats had been unavailing, these were not likely to make any impression. The religious spirit which, in the rigour of its conscientiousness, had scorned every alliance not founded on perfect uniformity of belief, now showed itself no less inflexible towards the system from which it had seceded.

Such was the end of every attempt at approximation. The minority were determined to maintain their position in all its integrity, and calmly to await whatever their enemies might undertake against them.

Thus the parties separated.

It were a complete mistake to imagine that the elector of Saxony had any political schemes of opposition to the emperor. On the contrary, it was a sincere affliction to him to be forced to sever himself thus from his emperor and lord; but he could do no otherwise. The moment had arrived when, being about to depart, he went to take his leave. "Uncle, uncle," said the emperor, "I did not look for this from you (*Ew. Liebden*)."\* The elector made no answer; his eyes filled with tears, but he

\* *Your well-belovedness*, would be somewhat corresponding to this title, by which the emperor was wont to address his immediate vassals.—TRANSL.

could find no words ; so he left the palace and, immediately after, the city. \*

A complete separation had taken place among the princes of the empire. In Spire this had extended to the princes alone ; now, the emperor was not only present but implicated.

The rupture which had hitherto been concealed beneath the hope of a reconciliation, was now laid bare to view.

The division had already extended to the cities.

First, Reutlingen, and then, one after another, Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg in the Nordgau, had joined Nürnberg.

Four other towns, Strasburg, Memmingen, Constance and Lindau, which had hitherto adhered to the Swiss views of the Lord's supper, had given in their own confession — the so-called *Tetrapolitana*. — to the contents of which, so highly important to the internal history of protestantism, we shall return hereafter.† To them, too, the emperor caused

\* Erzählung der sächsischen Apologia in Förstemann's Archiv. p. 206. Granvella mentions this trait, as a proof of the loyalty and affection of the elector towards his imperial majesty.

† Fürstenberg (5th July) relates the following : "Es haben die von Strasburg vergangener Tag uns und etlich mehr von Städten bei sich erfordert, und die Bekannntniss irer Lere und Predig, so sie der Keys. Mt. zu übergeben willens, zuvor anholen lassen, ob sich jemand villeicht mit inen unterschreiben wolt. Wie wol nun dieselbig fast wol gestellt und etwas subtiler und zugtiger dan der Fursten gewest, so haben wir doch, diweyl bis anher bei uns des Sacraments halber ihre Opinion



a catholic refutation to be read aloud; of course, without the smallest effect. Strasburg showed as much courage as Nürnberg and other cities. Had the intended reconciliation taken place between catholics and protestants, the four cities would have fallen into no little jeopardy. But as things turned out in Augsburg, they had less to fear than at first, and they therefore gave the less ear to any suggestions from the other side.

It was only to the other cities that the emperor caused it to be announced, on the 24th of September, that Saxony and his kinsmen and allies had causelessly and wrongfully rejected a Recess drawn up, in fact, in their favour,—doubtless mainly because they were required to restore the convents; but that he was resolved to put an end to this thing. As the other States had promised to stake life and property on the cause, he hoped to find the same zeal in them. The cities requested to be allowed first to consult their authorities; the emperor pressed for an immediate answer.

nit gepredigt, das unterschreyben abgeschlagen; dergleichen haben auch andere gethan, uss ursachen von jeglichen insonderheit furgewant.”—“Yesterday they of Strasburg invited us and some others of the cities to come to them, and to hear the confession of their doctrine and preaching, which they intend to deliver in to the emperor; and to see whether perchance any will subscribe it with them. Now, although the same be well drawn up, and somewhat more subtle and discreet than that of the princes was, yet have we, seeing that till now their opinion on the sacrament has not been preached among us, refused to sign; the like have also others done, for reasons by each severally assigned.”

Hereupon those who had remained catholic, the smaller as well as the larger, Rottweil, Ueberlingen, Cologne, Hagenau, even Regensburg, attached themselves without hesitation to the emperor.

The others, who had hitherto allowed free circulation to the Confession, without setting themselves in open opposition to the emperor and the majority, were now in no small perplexity. They considered that, by accepting the Recess, they should admit the Confession to be confuted, and that they should be compelled to fight against their co-religionists; gradually therefore Frankfurt, Ulm, Schwäbisch-Hall—and lastly Augsburg, rejected it. In Augsburg, as may be imagined, this difficulty was most felt, in consequence of the emperor's presence. It was thought necessary to resort to the extraordinary measure of convoking the great council, in which members of all the guilds took part. But the protestant spirit had already penetrated the body of the citizens too deeply for them to find it possible to renounce it. In the very face of the emperor, Augsburg refused to accept his Recess.\*

\* Kress and Volkamer to Nürnberg in Corp. Ref. ii. 422. The correspondence between the city of Frankfurt and its delegates is specially worthy of note, "Sollte es aber mit sich bringen, wie es on Zweyfel thut," wrote Fürstenberg on the 3<sup>d</sup> of October, "dass wir stillschweigend gehellen, dass die Bekenntniss des Churfürsten und seynes. Anhangs mit den heyligen Evangelien und Geschriften gründlich abgeleynt worden, welche Ableynung wir doch nie gesehn noch an Tag kommen ist, das ist unsers Erachtens wider unser Gewissen und Ver-

There were now fourteen cities, and among them precisely the most affluent and flourishing in the

stand und deshalb zu bewilligen ganz beschwerlich und nit thunlich, und wan es gleich desfalls nit zu widerfechten were, khan E. W. on Zweyffel wol ermessen, wo es zur Handlung kommen solt, was E. W. derwegen mit Pulver Buxen Geld und andern zu leihen und darzustrecken zugemut word werden: wir wollen geschweygen was das uf im hab zuzusagen und zu halten was weiter beschlossen wird." — "Should it, however, come to pass, as it doubtless will, that we tacitly admit that the Confession of the elector and his followers is fundamentally confuted from the holy Gospels and Scriptures, (which confutation we have, however, not seen, and which has not yet been made public,) that were, according to our judgment, against our conscience and understanding, and to assent to it were very difficult, and not a thing to be done; and if, in like manner, it were not to be controverted, your worships can without doubt well estimate, if it should come to action, what your worships would be asked to lend and contribute in powder, firelocks, money, and other things: we will say nothing about what is to be said to this matter, and will hold to what may be further determined." The eminently discreet council of Frankfurt hereupon resolves on this answer to the emperor. (14th Oct.) — "Dieweil Kais. Mt. ein Concilium zu verschaffen sich allergnediglichst erpotten, und ein erparer Rath kainswegs sich ye versehen, dass Kais. Mt. dem ewigen Gottes Wort etwas zuwider werde aufrichten oder handhaben helfen, so wolle ein erbarer Rath in Bedacht hochgedachter Kays. Mt. als eines allergnedigsten gütigen milten Kaisers selbss er bieten sich desselbigen getrost, auch füran, als einem christlichen Magistrat wol geziemt, und so viel sie gegen Gott der Seelen und Gewissen halb und der Kays. Mt. von des Reichs wegen Gehorsam zu leisten schuldig, wie pillig allerunterthängist gehorsamen." — "Since your imperial majesty has most graciously proposed to procure an ecclesiastical council to be held, and since our honourable council has by no means seen that your imperial

empire — Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfurt, and Nürnberg, — that actively opposed the Recess. They were a minority, but not so inconsiderable a minority as had at first appeared.

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Meanwhile the emperor had business to transact with the majority, who, as we have said, did not attach themselves with such cordiality to his house as the support they now received from him seemed to demand.

The grant of the ecclesiastical lands in Germany and Austria, made by the pope to King Ferdinand, was obstinately rejected. The clergy first declared their resolution not to consent to it, and the whole assembly then made the cause their own. In a report with marginal notes, written by Granvilla, it appears that they threatened to withhold all subsidies for the Turkish war if this project was persisted in. Such an innovation, they declared, such an assumption of power on the part of the pope, could be endured neither in the empire, nor in the

majesty would ever help to establish or maintain any thing contrary to the everlasting word of God, our honorable council regarding your imperial majesty as a most gracious, kind and clement emperor, proposes to trust to your imperial majesty as it beseems a Christian magistracy, and in as far as they are bound to tender obedience to God, on account of their souls and consciences, and to your imperial majesty on account of the empire, so far most dutifully to obey, as is just and reasonable." In these obscure folds do they wrap up their refusal. In the main, they agree with their ambassador.

Austrian hereditary dominions.\* Granvilla made this known to the king, and Ferdinand was at length compelled to let the bull drop.

Not till then were the Turkish succours granted; nor even then were they such as the emperor had wished them — permanent, which the States declared would only be possible in case of the co-operation of the whole of Christendom. On the other hand, a considerable body of troops raised in haste were immediately granted; twice as many as for the Roman expedition of 1521; viz. 40,000 foot soldiers, and 8000 horse, for six months only at present, but for longer in case of need. The succours were not to be in money, but in men, and to be levied according to the division of the circles.

Some other internal affairs were likewise transacted.

One main purpose of the diet, announced in the proclamation was, to allay the disputes between the spiritual and temporal Estates which had recently made so much noise. At a former period the spiritual States had been vehemently attacked; now, they were the complainants. Formerly this would have given occasion to the most violent contests;

\* Les députés ont dit clèrement, que la dite hastive ayde ne sera en manière nulle consentie, si premierement le roi (Ferdinand) n'abolit entierement la bulle du pape, et ce non seulement en l'empire, mais aussi a l'encontre des subjects de tous les estats qui sont demourans et habitans en pays d'Autriche, car ils donnent à entendre que de la sorte ils ne veulent nullement estre en subjection du pape. (Brussels Archives). Granvilla adds the remark, au roi, que S. M. regarde, etc.

now, as these mutual animosities had given way to a common antipathy, a committee, composed of both, was appointed, and a compromise actually effected, which the emperor consented to proclaim as a constitution of the empire.\*

The hundred Gravamina were likewise once more brought forward. The temporal princes, accustomed to persist in their resolutions, presented them anew. As the papal legate was not empowered to enter into negotiations on the matter, the emperor engaged to have them agitated by his ambassador in Rome.†

It appears almost as if the abolition of these grievances had subsequently been regarded as conceded, and as if the constitution just mentioned had obtained a certain authority.‡ But these interests now vanished before the far weightier one of the reformation.

The most important question was, what attitude the emperor and the majority would assume in their relations with the States which had rejected their Recess.

\* Concordata of the spiritual and temporal grievances, collected in the form of a constitution. Bucholtz, iii. 636.

† In Adrian's Catalogus is quoted (No. 196. p. 93.) Consultatio et deliberatio consiliariorum deputatorum super gravaminibus quæ nationi Germanicæ per sedem apostolicam inferuntur, which would belong here.

‡ Spittler, Geschichte der Fundamentalgesetze der deutsch-katholischen Kirche (Werke, viii. 501.), affirms that the two documents, the Gravamina, which were regarded as actually settled, and the Concordata, lay on the table of the Imperial Council (Hofrath) for daily use.



From all I have been able to discover it appears, that the emperor was more for an immediate resort to force, while the majority were inclined to defer taking up arms.

After being repeatedly asked, they gave in their opinion, that the emperor should issue a new religious mandate on the basis of the edict of Worms. If Saxony with his followers should refuse obedience to it, the emperor should summon them to appear before him, pronounce the due punishment, and proceed to its execution.

The Recess is conceived in the same spirit.

The emperor therein proclaims his serious determination to enforce his edict of Worms; he specifies a number of infringements of it, all of which he condemns, whether they be called Lutheran, Zwinglian, or anabaptist; he insists on the maintenance of every point of the disputed usages or doctrines, and establishes anew the jurisdiction of the spiritual princes. The imperial fiscal was immediately to proceed judicially against the recusants, even to the punishment of the ban of the empire, which should be executed according to the ordinances of the Public Peace.

A main point, and one to which we shall shortly have occasion to return, is that the Imperial Chamber was immediately re-constituted and bound to enforce this Recess.

An appeal to arms remained however, as we see from this document, always in reserve; it was an idea to which the emperor incessantly recurred.



In a letter to the pope of the 4th October, he expressed himself with great vivacity on the subject; he informed him that the negotiations were broken off and their adversaries more obstinate than ever, but that he was determined to apply all his force to subdue them. He wishes the pope to exhort the other princes of Christendom to espouse this cause.\*

We have another letter, dated 25th of October, from Charles to the cardinals, in which he earnestly entreats them to promote the convocation of a council. Meanwhile, he wishes to consult them how he is to act in the interval towards the Lutherans, so as as to avoid further danger; and especially how he ought to fulfil the functions of an emperor, which had devolved upon him. "We declare to you," adds he, "that for the termination of this affair we will spare neither kingdoms nor dominions; nay, that we will devote to it body and soul, which we have wholly dedicated to the service of God Almighty." †

\* Rance, 18th. Oct. Lui (au Pape) escrivoit le dit empereur estre deliberé employer tous ses biens et forces et sa propre personne à leur faire la guerre, priant S. Sté. vouloir admonester et requérir tous les princes chretiens vouloir aider et entrer à l'expedition de la dite emprise, et sur cela s. d. Sté. fait dimanche congregation de cardinaux. MS. Bethune at Paris.

† Il vous plaira, selon votre prudence et bonté, adviser comment on se peut gouverner avec eux — (les Lutheriens) — — tant pour empescher qu'il n'advienne plus detrimement à la chose publique, que partiellement pour la satisfaction des charges et

On the 30th October he sent his major domo, Pedro de la Cueva, to Rome, to inform the pope that the catholic princes were indeed of opinion that the year was too far advanced to undertake any immediate measures against the Lutherans; but to exhort him (the pope) by no means to desist from preparations for such an enterprise. The emperor, on his side, however desirable it might be for him to go to Spain, would postpone every thing, in order immediately to put in execution whatever in the pope's opinion might conduce to the service of God and of his holiness.

In Rome the question had long been decided. Campeggi had told the emperor that, without some strong measure, he would arrive at no result. He had reminded him of Maximilian, who had never been able to obtain obedience till he took up arms, and used them successfully against the house of the Palatinate.\*

In short, as the protestants were not to be brought to conform by mild measures, western Christendom and the German empire, represented

offices, esquels par la divine clemence fumes constitués, vous advisans que n'épargnerons ni royaumes ni seigneuries pour la consommation de chose tant nécessaire, etc. Bethune, 8539.

\* Molto più a V. Mtà. conviensi in questa impresa santa e christiana a farsi obedire con tutte le vie e modi che si ponno trovare, che fece la felice memoria di Maximiliano suo avo nelle imprese che contra i Palatini si gloriosamente finì, dipoi la quale sempre fu poi tenuto e riverito e obedito, — — ricordando sempre che è impossibile senza qualche gagliarda exactione et ordine estirpare le heresie.

by the pope, the emperor, and the assembly of the empire, appeared resolved to put them down either by law or by force.

It remained to be seen whether the recusants would have the physical and moral strength necessary to make effectual resistance.



BOOK VI.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE SCHMALKALDIC  
LEAGUE.

1530—1535.



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ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE SCHMALKALDIC  
LEAGUE.

1530—1535.

As even in the remote times described by Tacitus, the Germans deemed it the heaviest of all punishments to be forbidden to attend the public assemblies and sacrifices; so, during the middle ages, they accounted it an intolerable misfortune to be excluded from the communion of the church and the peace of the empire. These two communities appeared to embrace all the good which man can enjoy, on this side the grave and on the other.

The evangelical States now found themselves on the point of being excluded from both.

From the church, encumbered as it was with abuses which they had hoped to reform, they had, since their efforts were unsuccessful, voluntarily severed themselves. They clung with fervent and steadfast attachment to the idea of an improved church. On the other hand, the established church strenuously resisted every attempt at change, and repulsed every advance unaccompanied by complete submission.

Hence it happened that the imperial authority, on which the evangelical party at first thought they might rely for support, having concluded a close



alliance with Rome, now threatened them with exclusion from the Public Peace, — that is to say, with war and ruin.

It seemed evident that the evangelical party, with their slender territorial power, still further enfeebled by internal divisions, if once involved in a serious contest with a large majority of the States, the puissant emperor, and the whole of Latin christendom united, must be instantly and hopelessly overwhelmed.

This it is which constitutes the most striking feature of the diet of Augsburg; that, in full view of this danger, they resolved never to abandon the religious position they had taken up, and the importance of which filled their whole souls.

When, indeed, this resolution was once taken, it appeared on a calm survey of their situation, that, in spite of the superiority of their opponents, the cause they so intrepidly defended was by no means desperate.

And, in the first place, the tendency to reform was inherent in the course of events and the progress of public opinion, and had innumerable allies lying without the pale of its acknowledged domain; all the force of the principle of which the Protesters were the avowed champions, must, without any effort of theirs, come to their aid.

At the same time the whole of the Germano-Roman nations of the West were attacked by the most formidable enemy they had ever encountered. In spite of all differences, in spite of the attempt to

exclude them from the great political body of which they were members, the protestants belonged to this menaced and assailed community; they, indeed, were the representatives of a new stage of that intellectual culture, of which the barbarian enemy meditated the extirpation; Europe neither could nor would dispense with their aid.

But, lastly, the external unity of catholic christendom was only the product of a moment of good fortune and victory, or of prompt and successful policy. It was hardly to be expected that such a peace as this would lead to serious co-operation, or would even be of any long continuance.

I do not believe that any of the men then living arrived at a full sense of the real situation of things. Landgrave Philip was the first who had a dim perception of it; the others, without much reflexion on what was passing around them, took counsel only of their consciences.

The important thing both for them and for the general progress of society was, that a centre of resistance should be firmly established, so that they might not be overpowered by the first storm, and might on some future occasion take advantage of favouring circumstances, by which their enemies now so largely profited.

## CHAPTER I.

## FOUNDATION OF THE SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE.

THE church had of herself no political power; for that, she was wholly dependent on the arm of the empire. "The anathema," says the *Sachsenspiegel*, "injures only the soul; the penalties of the law of the land or of the feudal law are consequent on the king's ban."

Hostile as was the temper of the majority at the diet to the protestants, this ban, spite of their secession from the church, was not proclaimed against them. The majority, which had not even permitted the emperor to act as judge, hesitated to put arms into his hands.

While war still appeared imminent, they conceived the design of transferring the combat to another field; "they would not fight, but right" (*nicht fechten sondern rechten*), as they expressed it. Of all the great institutions of the empire which had been so laboriously founded for the conservation of the national unity, the only one that still enjoyed some consideration was the Imperial Chamber (*Reichskammergericht*), which exercised the judicial functions of the emperor, while its character was eminently representative.\*

\* *Ständisch*. See Translator's note, Vol. I. p. 112.

This tribunal they resolved to employ for the purpose they meditated. At the diet of Augsburg, the Imperial Chamber was extended and better organised for the despatch of business. The number of assessors was increased from eighteen to twenty-four, retaining, of course, the right of election of the circles; but besides this, it was thought necessary, in order to get rid of long arrears of business, to appoint eight experienced doctors. Further, the court determined to subject itself to a new visitation. The reader will remember the manner in which it was purified, at the time the old Council of Regency fell.\* The same spirit presided over the present reforms. Seven of the procurators and advocates were seriously admonished on account of their religious opinions, and an eighth was obliged to absent himself for a time.† And this tribunal, thus strengthened, and purged from all inclination to the new opinions, was now most earnestly exhorted to observe the Augsburg Recess, particularly in the article concerning faith; the president of the chamber was to be not only empowered, but bound, to remove any who might infringe it, and must do so under pain of the emperor's displeasure.‡

The Imperial Chamber was thus rendered a com-

\* Vol. II. p. 140.

† Harpprecht, Staatsarchiv. des Kammergerichts, v. 82.

‡ Recess of the 19th Nov. 1530. §§ 76. 82. 91. All the persons of the imperial chamber should "bear themselves agreeably to the Recess of this diet now and here holden, especially in the article of faith and religion."

plete expression of the prevailing sentiments of the majority.

The protestants were well aware of this. In a project for the maintenance of peace, communicated to them at the conclusion of the diet, it was said, that no one should invade another's dominions unlawfully. They inferred from this that such invasion might take place, in pursuance of a sentence of the Imperial Chamber, the nature of which could not be doubtful.

At the same time, however, a new measure was introduced for the government of the empire.

Of late years the house of Austria had more than once had occasion to fear that, in consequence of the nullity of the Council of Regency, and the absence of the emperor, people might either proceed to elect another chief, or might revive and recognise the rights of the vicars of the empire, of whom the elector of Saxony was one.

In order to put an end for ever to plans of this sort, the emperor abandoned all considerations regarding his possible posterity, and, as we have said, determined to raise his brother to the rank of king of the Romans.

It had been objected to Maximilian on a similar occasion, that he was himself not crowned emperor, and therefore, in fact, only king of the Romans; and this was one of the reasons for Charles's coronation in Bologna.

To this the five catholic electors raised little objection, presuming that their compliance would be requited with favours. The Palatinate was

promised compensation for its losses in the Landshut war, and moreover the sum of 160,000 gulden. A final settlement of the affair of Zossen and the Bohemian fiefs, together with other advantages, was promised to Brandenburg; in his letters he tells with great delight what a gracious emperor and king he has.\* A number of extraordinary, and indeed almost contradictory favours were to be granted to the elector of Mainz; *e. g.* to procure him, from the court of Rome, the powers of a legate *a latere* for his dioceses, and at the same time, permission to leave these same dioceses to co-adjutors, and keep an accumulation of estates and benefices for his own perpetual use.† Trèves had for some years been secured by a sum of money. The longest hesitation was on the part of Cologne, the promises made to whom eleven years ago at the election of Charles V. were not yet fulfilled; but at length, having received sufficient guarantee, he assented. Saxony alone held out.

It was suggested by some, that, as Saxony could in no case be won over without concessions which the emperor was determined not to grant, it would be most expedient to take advantage of his defection from the church of Rome, at once to exclude him. The pope actually sent a brief according to

\* Letter of the 18th Aug. 1530. Berlin Archives.

† The last, in the letter of grace (Gnadenbrief) of the 6th Sept. in Bucholtz iii. 662. The first, in the Brussels Archives, 7th Sept. *Contendemus obtinere a D. N. Clemente VII. facultates ad instar legati a latere pro electore antedicto in omnibus suis diocesisibus, nempe Moguntina, Magdeburgensi, et Halberstadensi.*

which Elector John could be stripped of his right of electing, in virtue of a bull of Leo X., subjecting the defenders of Luther to the pains and penalties of heresy.\* Deliberations were actually held upon the matter; but the electors had not yet reached such a point as to consent to so formless a proceeding, which might afterwards be turned against any one of themselves. The evidence we have seems to prove, that the elector palatine most strenuously opposed it†, and that John of Saxony was in fact invited. The pliant pope had furnished a brief to meet this case also, in which he declared that the participation of Saxony, although, in virtue of the above-mentioned bull, he might be regarded as excommunicated, should not prejudice the validity of the election.

The warning thus given, and the threat implied in the new instructions to the Imperial Chamber, were the immediate causes of the Schmalkaldic League.

We have seen how little the evangelical princes had hitherto succeeded in forming any permanent union; and even now they wavered as long as the emperor remained in Augsburg, and there was still a doubt what measures he might take in concert with the majority. A congress already convoked was given

\* Extract in Bucholtz, ix. 17.

† Taubenheim to El. John. Förstemann, ii. 821. "Wie ichs vermerke, so szolle Pfalz die vornehmste Ursach sein, damit E. Ch. G. nicht ausgeschlossen werden." According to what I observe, the palatine is the chief cause why your E. G. is not excluded.



up again in consequence of some pacific expressions of the emperor.\* But now that the Recess had appeared, and was of so decidedly hostile a character, — now, that the above-mentioned citation was at the same time sent to the Saxon court, they could no longer defer their meeting.

In a letter to George of Brandenburg, elector John gives the following reasons : — First, that in answer to a question concerning the instructions given to the fiscal of the Imperial Chamber, the emperor had replied, that he (the fiscal) should not be prohibited from proceeding against those who would not submit to his Recess ; it would, therefore, be necessary to deliberate on an unanimous exception against such a proceeding. And likewise, that the summons to the election rendered it necessary that they should converse with each other about it, and immediately agree on some common measures of opposition.†

I know not whether I am wrong in supposing that this turn of affairs was essentially favourable to the protestants.

The all important point was, that they should not be excluded from the Peace of the Empire, on account of their ecclesiastical changes.

\* It was fixed for the Monday after the feast of St. Catharine. (28th Nov. 1530.)

† This is in fact expressed in the paper which is annexed to the letter from Torgau, of St. Andrew's Eve (29th Nov.). The elector invites the Markgrave, "ir (S. Gn.) selbst und der sachen zu gut," ("for your Grace's own sake, and that of the cause.") (W. A.)

Had the old modes of thinking still prevailed, a crusade would have been set on foot against them.

But, inasmuch as the majority resolved to attack them by means of the great representative (*ständischen*) tribunal, and on the field of the ancient laws of the empire; inasmuch as the emperor invited them to concur in his brother's election, the legality of their participation in the business of the empire, in spite of their ecclesiastical differences, was recognised.

The whole contest was converted from an ecclesiastical into a general;—from a political question, to one of public law; and on this ground the protestants had now to unite, and to organise their resistance.

On the 22nd Dec. 1530, John of Saxony, Ernest of Lüneburg, Philip of Hessen, Wolfgang of Anhalt, the Counts Gebhard and Albrecht of Mansfeld, the latter of whom was bearer of the vote of Grubenhagen, and also delegates from George of Brandenburg and from several cities, assembled in Schmalkalden. The heights which surround the town were covered with snow. It was not for their pleasure that they passed the festival of Christmas in this small frontier town, in the midst of a rude mountain district.

They resolved, in the first place, that, as soon as any attempt should be made by the imperial fiscal to enforce the law against any one of them, the whole body should come to his aid.\* They agreed on

\* Wo der kais. Fiscal, der Bund zu Schwaben oder Jemand anders J. Chf. und Fürstlichen Gnaden oder die gemeldten Städte, eine oder mehre, oder jemand von den Iren in Sachen

certain exceptions which they intended to take in common, and appointed two or three procurators to conduct the business before the Imperial Chamber.

This is the essential part of the league; and it affords the clearest evidence that the religious dispute was transformed into one of law. In this all who had originally subscribed the Augsburg Confession, or had since given in their adhesion to it, joined.

They also agreed that they must try to induce the emperor to mitigate the terms of the Recess, or, perhaps, protest against it altogether.

Had they proceeded to act immediately, it is probable that a uniform external organization of the new churches would have been effected. Most of them were in favour of the introduction of a general church ordinance, — mainly in order to render open vice amenable to ecclesiastical chastisement.

On the other hand, they could not come to so perfect an understanding concerning the second

unfern heil. Glauben oder was demselben anhanget (belangen), auf den ausgegangenen Abschied fürnehmen und im Schein des Rechtens oder andere Wege beklagen würde, — das Ire aller Gn. und Gunsten einander in solche beistendig, rätlich und hülfflich seyn sollen.” — “If the imperial fiscal, the Swabian league, or any others, should undertake, in virtue of the Recess just published, and under the appearance of law, or in any other way, to accuse your E. and P. Graces, or the above-mentioned cities, on account of our holy faith, or what is connected therewith — that all your Graces should stand by one another with counsel and help.”

principal subject of deliberation — the election of the king.

Saxony declared his opinion that they should not allow so great a latitude to the emperor, as that he should be able to carry through an affair of this importance single handed ; otherwise, there would soon be an end of the privileges and franchises of the empire. There was a great difference, he said, between an election after a regular vacancy, and an attempt to place a king of the Romans by the side of a living emperor. In the latter case, a consultation of all the electors, and an unanimous resolution, must precede the summons to the election. But nothing of the kind had been thought of. Even the citation which had been sent to himself (the elector of Saxony), allowed much too short a time, and was as completely null as all the rest of the proceedings. Lastly, it was impossible to suffer Ferdinand, who had distinguished himself by his enmity to the gospel, to be imposed upon them. While lieutenant, he had contrived the strangest artifices, and as king, he would have the game in his own hands. To elect Ferdinand thus, without any stipulation, would be to put arms into the hands of their enemies. They must stand firm as one man, and refuse obedience with common consent. They could negotiate afterwards. They would then have a good opportunity to oblige the king to order the fiscal to stay proceedings, or entirely to repeal the Recess.\* They

\* Article, what is to be treated of the following day at Schmalkalden. (W. A.)

might, according to the expression in the original, "put a bit in his mouth."

These views were very readily listened to, and especially coincided with those of Landgrave Philip. They were approved by a large majority of the States.

Markgrave George and his neighbours of Nürnberg alone would not go so far. The former stood in too various and peculiar relations to Ferdinand, to venture to offend him personally. The great desire of the latter was, to show themselves the more especial subjects of the emperor. At the first request on his part, they had delivered up the coronation regalia which were kept at Nürnberg, and had sent an ambassador for that express purpose to the imperial court.

Another question was intimately connected with the former.

Although the attacks more immediately to be dreaded were of a judicial kind, it was impossible not to see that, in case of need, the emperor meditated employing force. It was remarked that, in the Recess he had enjoined peace on others, but had not promised to observe it himself.\* It is certain that a correspondence concerning the necessity of raising troops, was carried on between Fer-

\* Letter of the Saxon envoy. Förstemann, ii. 711. The Nürnbergers announced as early as the 21st October, that all was, "dahin gericht, wie man die thatliche Handlung wider die Anhänger des Evangeliums zum tapfersten anfangt."—"so arranged, that forcible measures may be the most vigorously begun against the adherents of the gospel."

Ferdinand and the papal court, in the beginning of the year 1531.\* People asserted that they had heard Henry of Brunswick say, that he and Esk of Reischach were to take the command of the army.

The first question, therefore, to be decided, was, whether it was lawful to resist the emperor.

The opinion of the theologians, who took their ideas of the imperial authority from the New Testament, was, as we are aware, against resistance.

But in a time of such vast changes, when the secular element was universally emancipating itself from the hierarchy, the notions of public law necessarily became cleared of all theological admixture.

The jurists adduced certain arguments drawn from the civil law, concerning the resistance which might be offered to a judge who should take no notice of a legal appeal; chiefly, however, they called in question, whether the power which the theologians ascribed to the emperor was really his by law.†

The theologians had even advised the princes to allow the emperor to proceed in their dominions according to his pleasure; to allow him, for example, to drive out themselves (the preachers). To this it was objected, that such a proceeding would be ut-

\* A. de Burgo to Ferdinand, 2d March, 1531. *Dixi quod esset providendum de viribus et remediis in re Lutherana, quod solum concilium non futurum esset sufficiens, sed paratæ vires facerent bonum concilium, et quod paratis viribus possint illi (æ?) converti, ubi etc.*

† *Etlicher furtrefflicher Rechtsgelehrten in Wittenberg Sentenz.* (Sentence of certain excellent lawyers in Wittenberg.) Hortleder, Book II. cap. vi.

terly unprecedented in any other matter, and that the emperor did, in fact, possess no such power.

New ideas on the general nature of the German constitution gradually made their way. It was observed that, if, on the one hand, the princes did homage to the emperor, he, on the other, took an oath which he was bound to observe: the princes were the hereditary sovereigns of the country; the emperor was elected. A doctrine which was long in obtaining acceptance, and was not recognised as consonant with public law until the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, was likewise then broached;—the doctrine, namely, that the constitution of the German empire was not of a monarchical, but an aristocratical nature. According to this theory, the relation of the princes to their head was not very different from that of the senators of Rome to the consuls, or those of Venice to their doge, or of a chapter to its bishop. But neither canons nor senators had ever been bound to passive obedience. “The States govern jointly with the emperor, and the emperor is not a monarch.”\*

To these arguments the theologians had nothing more to oppose. They could now adhere to their text from Scripture, without being compelled by it to condemn all resistance to the emperor. “We did not know,” say they, “that the sovereign power itself was subject to law.”†

\* Juristical decision; Hortleder P. II. B. II. C. viii. at the end.

† Considerations of the Theologians. Ibid. c. 9.



The earnestness of their scruples was proved by the difficulty with which they shook them off, and by their subsequent recurrence to them from time to time.

Luther was peculiarly impressed with the fact that, as he had continually remarked, the emperor did not attempt to act independently; but always by the advice of the pope, and of the princes of Germany. He pronounced him to be no "Augmenter of the Empire," † but a captain and sworn vassal of the pope. And should the protestants now encourage their old enemies—their neighbours of Bohemia, who would use the authority of the emperor's name—by declaring resistance unlawful? "They hope," says Luther, "that we shall not defend ourselves. But if they mean to show their knighthood against the blood of our people, they shall do so with peril and fear." †

On these grounds Saxony now proposed to the assembled States a league for their mutual defence, even against the emperor. In all previous coalitions of the kind, he had been excepted; but

\* Mehrer des Reichs; one of the titles of the Emperor.—  
TRANSL.

† See "Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen."—Altenb. v. 538. "Alles ist ein Getrieb des obersten Schalks in der Welt."—"All is a manœuvre of the chiefest rogue in the world." He did not advise recourse to arms; but, as he writes to Spengler, "Ego pro mea parte dixi, ego consulo ut theologus; sed si juristæ possent docere legibus suis id licere, ego permitterem eos suis legibus uti. Ipsi viderint."

such a course would now be useless, since their enemies now acted under cover of his name.\*

These views were by no means shared by Nürnberg, or by Markgrave George. Their theologians had remained unconvinced or doubtful. Nürnberg declared that it could not found so important a resolution as this on opinions of so revolting a kind. The reader will remember that a similar difference existed the year before, between the divines of the two States.†

The others, however, accustomed to follow Saxony, or perhaps even rejoiced that she had at length abandoned her scruples, declared their entire assent.

A draft of an agreement was immediately drawn up, in which the emperor's name was, indeed, carefully avoided, and the causes of alarm obscurely alluded to, in such expressions as this, "It ap-

\* "Dieselbig Widerpartei die Sachen in die kaiserlich Majestät, als ob sy diselbig gar nicht zu thun hätte, schieven wil." — "The same adverse party will shove the thing on his imperial majesty, as if they themselves had nothing at all to do with it."

\* Müller's *Annales Norici*. One disputed question was, whether the imperial authority extended to matters of religion. The Landgrave of Hessen, particularly, denied this. The Brandenburg opinion, however, maintains it. Saxony says, in the above-mentioned proposals, "Wo sich gleichwol I. Mt. Amt in des Glaubens Sachen erstrecken sollt, wäre das doch durch die Appellation, so an I. Maj. un ein Concilium sämtlich nach rechtlicher Ordnung erschienen ist, suspendirt." — "But even if your majesty's functions should extend to matters of faith, they must be suspended by the appeal which has been addressed, according to legal order, to your imperial majesty and a council."

pears as if there existed an intention of crushing the followers of the pure word of God ;” but it was more explicit in what related to measures of defence. The allies bound themselves to hasten to the aid of any one among them, who might be attacked on account of the word of God. It was further declared that this league was directed neither against the emperor, nor against any individual whatsoever ; which only meant that it would attack no one, and would rigorously confine itself to self-defence.

The league included Saxony, Hessen, Lüneburg, Wolfgang of Anhalt, the two Counts of Mansfeld, the cities of Magdeburg and Bremen. The other assembled princes and States promised to declare themselves within a short time. On the 31st of December they dispersed.\*

These nine days may be reckoned among the most important in the history of the world. The threatened and despised minority, under the influence of a religious idea on which depended the future development of the human mind, assumed an energetic and even warlike attitude. They determined in like manner, as they had confessed the new doctrine and refused to abandon it, so they would now defend the whole position into which that confession had led them ;—by legal means, in the first place ; but if necessary, by arms. As to the former, all were agreed ; as to the latter, the majority (some still entertained scruples as to their legal

\* Recess of the diet held at Schmalkalden, 1530. Last day of December. (W. A.)

right); and thus, at the very origin of the innovation, a compact and determined union was formed for its maintenance, which its antagonists were likely to find it difficult to overcome.

The affair of the election soon proved the force and value of this resistance.

During the deliberations in Schmalkalden, John Frederic of Saxony, the heir to the electorate, had gone to Cologne, to oppose the election in his father's name.

His opposition had, as may be imagined, no effect in preventing a thing which was already decided. Ferdinand was chosen at Cologne (5th January, 1531), by the five other electors, and a few days afterwards was crowned at Aix la Chapelle.\* By his election capitulations he was expressly bound to maintain the existing forms of religion, and specially in virtue of the Recess of Augsburg.† This

\* Spalatin, Verzeichniss der Handlung in Cölln, in Struve's Archiv. i. 62.

† The words in the copy at Brussels are, "Das wir in Zeit solcher königlichen Würde, Ambts und Regierung die Christenheit und den Stuel zu Rom, bebstliche Heiligkeit, auch die christliche Kirch bei dem alten loblichen und wolhergebrachten Glauben, Religion und Cerimonien vermöge des jüngsten zu Augsburg aufgerichten Abschiedes bis zu endlicher Determination khünftigen gemeinen Concils in guten Bevelch, Schutz und Schirm haben sollen."—"That we, as holding such royal dignity, should have in our good ordering, protection and defence, the stewardship and government of christendom and the see of Rome, the pope's holiness, also the christian church, with its ancient praiseworthy and well-established belief, religion and ceremonies, in virtue of the Recess newly drawn up

Recess, which involved all the interests of the catholic majority, and was the principal weapon in their hands, had now all the value and force of law. From this time the emperor left the administration of the empire chiefly to his brother.\* He reserved to himself only the privilege of being consulted in some weighty cases; *e. g.* the granting of banner fiefs, or of high titles of nobility; or the decision concerning monopolies — the most considerable mercantile interests of those days; or such proclamations of ban, or alliances, as might have the effect of involving the country in regular war.† But how complete and valid soever the election thus appeared to be, the opposition of Saxony did not fail to produce a great effect. The public voice was, independently of this, against the act of the electors. Above all, the old rivals of Austria, the dukes of Bavaria, who had never concealed that they aimed at the crown (alleging that members of their house had been emperors

at Augsburg, until the final determination of a future general council.”

\* Extract from the original document, Bucholtz, ix. 19 :—I am struck by the distinction, “*imperium per Germaniam superiorem regat.*” Was lower Germany excepted, because the Saxon vicar of the empire had not given his assent? or (more probably) because the emperor would suffer no interference of the authorities of the empire with his Netherland government?

† The Brussels Archives contain the *Sommaire memoire au roi des Romains d'aucuns points esquels il semble à l'empereur que le dit S. roi doit avoir consideration et regard touchant le gouvernement de l'empire, pour lequel l'empereur luy envoie ample pouvoir.*

and kings when the ancestors of the Habsburgers were still seated among the counts) had now a lawful ground for refusing to acknowledge the validity of the king's election. They cared little for the motives which had prompted Saxony's opposition. It is remarkable that, on this point, the ultra catholics united with the leaders of the protestants. At a second meeting held by the allies at Schmal-kalden, shortly before Easter, 1531, Grubenhagen, Hessen and Anhalt declared still more emphatically than before, that they would persist with Saxony in refusing obedience to Ferdinand. The cities were not all so resolute; yet they also refrained, for the most part, from giving him the title of king of the Romans.

Very shortly after Ferdinand complained to his brother, that he bore the title indeed, but that it commanded no respect or obedience; he had no more weight than any other prince of the empire.\*

From day to day the league assumed a more important aspect.

At the second meeting, the treaty for mutual defence, the duration of which was provisionally fixed for six years, was sealed by Saxony, Hessen, Lüneburg and Grubenhagen. For the ratification by the cities, a certain process was agreed on, which was afterwards adopted. As they had not yet determined on a formal military organisation, and as the movements of their adversaries seemed to

\* Yo no soy mas que un principe de los del ymperio por agora, no siendo obedecido por rey de Romanos. (B. A.)

make some measures necessary, they resolved, for the present, to take a certain number of horsemen into their pay, till they should see "whither these hasty and strange measures would extend."

At a third meeting at Frankfurt on the Maine, on the 5th June, the principal subject of discussion was, the affairs of the Imperial Chamber. The allies were not perfectly agreed to whom they should entrust their procurations; some objections were raised to the persons proposed, but on the main point there was no hesitation; the procurators were to be empowered "to act in all their names, and to help to carry through all things regarding their faith and religion, which the fiscal might bring against any of the allies."\* They agreed upon a small tax to pay the procurators. Strangely enough, the first permanent contribution which was agreed on in the league, as in the empire, had a jurisdictional destination.

\* "Alle und jede Sachen die Religion Cerimonien und was dem anhangt anlangend, so der ks. Fiscal vielleicht us befel ks. Mt. oder uf anhalten sonderer Personen oder Parteien wider die ernannten Stadte eine oder mehr fürgewendt hette oder noch fürpringen würde, in irer aller Namen semplich und sonderlich zu vertreten und usführen zu helfen."—"To act and aid in all and every matter relating to religion, its ceremonies, and what belongs thereto, if the imperial fiscal should, by the command of his imperial majesty, or by the suggestion of other persons or parties against the above-mentioned cities, have alleged or should allege one or more of such matters, you are in all their names, collectively and severally, to act as their representatives, and to help to carry the business through." The draft was already prepared at Schmalkalden, but was adopted at Frankfurt.



Such were the fundamental characteristics, juridical and military, which the league exhibited from its very commencement. Not all its members, however, shared both these tendencies. Brandenburg and Nürnberg would not consent to armed resistance. It was therefore arranged that their delegates should not be admitted to the meetings in which measures of defence were discussed. Two reports, or recesses, were drawn up, of which the one was described as the general ("*gemeine*"), the other the particular ("*sunderliche*"). The former related to the more extensive, and merely peaceful; the other, to the narrower—that is, the warlike coalition.\* The adherents of the latter, however, still hoped to induce Brandenburg and Nürnberg to join them. Brandenburg was immediately threatened by the Swabian league, and the markgrave was told that had he but signed the treaty for mutual defence, the Swabian league would have left him at peace. But every thing was yet in a state of mere preparation.

Hitherto we have devoted our attention mainly to the relations of the princes; but those of the cities in upper and lower Germany were not less

\* Untertheniger Bericht der Sachen so sich in der Handlung zu Frankfurt Trinitatis, 1531, zugetragen und im Abschiede nit verzeichnet sind. "Humble report of the affairs transacted at the meeting at Frankfurt, Trinity 1531, and not entered in the Recess." (W. A.) There exist, as we see, three documents concerning this meeting; the general and the particular recesses, and this report.

remarkable. Negotiations with the upper German cities, leading to the most fortunate results and justifying the highest expectations, may be traced through all these meetings of the allies.

We should, however, be unable to appreciate them, if we did not first attend to the course which the reformation had in the meanwhile taken in Switzerland.

## CHAPTER II.

## PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

THE restored unity of Latin Christendom was, as may be concluded, no less dangerous to the dissidents of Switzerland than to those of Germany.

It happened that the catholic movement was directed first against Germany, because the head of christendom, the emperor, enjoyed an authority universally acknowledged and respected in that country ; but every step of its progress was felt to be of imminent danger to Switzerland.

The situation of the latter country was however very different from that of the former. There, as in Germany, the reformation encountered a majority armed with traditional privileges ; but in Switzerland this majority was enfeebled by a long series of reverses.

We have seen how Zwingli gained over to his opinions the two most powerful of the eight oldest cantons — Bern and Zürich ; of those which had joined the Confederation later, Basel ; and of those more remotely connected with it, St. Gall, Biel and Mühlhausen. In all these he had introduced a new organisation of the church.

On the other hand, he experienced an obstinate resistance from the remaining cantons : of these five of the older — the four Forest Cantons and Zug,

were decidedly hostile. The reader will remember which party had been triumphant there in the year 1522; their refusal to give up the pensions and the right of taking foreign service, and their determination to maintain the ancient faith with all its external observances.

Had the several cantons been completely separate states, they might, no doubt, have remained peaceful neighbours. But there were districts where the government was shared by the two opposing parties—the lordships and bailiwicks which were subjects of the whole Confederation: here the adverse powers necessarily came into collision. If we reflect that the Confederation had attained to its strength and compactness chiefly by means of its common conquests—that the real knot of the alliance consisted in these—it will be evident how important must be a difference which came to an open breach on this very ground. Here the majority had always enjoyed paramount consideration; it was now to be seen whether it was in a condition to maintain it.

The five older cantons refused to tolerate the new doctrines in the free bailiwicks. The bailiffs, Joseph am Berg of Schwytz and Jacob Stocker of Zug, inflicted on the dissidents fine, imprisonment, stripes and banishment. The preachers had their tongues slit, and were driven out of the country, or put to death with the sword. Germans who had fled from persecution and taken refuge in Switzerland, were delivered up to the Austrian government of the Vorlande, which put them to death without

trial or delay.\* All books of the new doctrine, as well as testaments and bibles, were seized. In Baden, the dead belonging to the evangelical party were refused decent burial.

The Zürichers had long seen these things with displeasure; and as soon as they felt themselves strong enough to resist, they determined to endure them no longer. One of the main articles in the treaty between Zürich and Bern is, that the two cantons would not allow the people of the common lordships and bailiwicks (the due proportion of the sovereignty over which belonged to them as members of the Confederation), or the congregations which had determined by the vote of a majority to adhere to the evangelical party, to be prevented from so doing by violence.†

This at once roused all the oppressed evangelical spirit in Thurgau and the valley of the Rhine. The Five Cantons despaired of keeping them down solely by the authority of their bailiffs: on the 30th November, 1528, they assembled all the magistrates and deputies of the communes of Thurgau in Frauenfeld, and admonished them not to separate themselves in matters of faith from the majority of the cantons to which they owed obedience; but rather to aid the bailiff in punishing the rebellious. This meeting, however, had also been attended by deputies from Zürich and Bern, who had come unin-

\* Proclamation of Zürich, 3d March, 1529. See Bullinger, ii. 31.

† Original document of the treaty between the cities. Bullinger, ii. 11.

vited, and did not fail to offer exhortations and assurances of a contrary tendency. The country people asked to be allowed time for reflexion till the feast of St. Nicholas, when they assembled again in Winfelden. At first they showed some hesitation ; gradually, however, a majority declared itself determined to adhere to the evangelical confession, and was openly supported by promises of assistance from Zürich and Bern. The former had also been applied to by the people of the Rhine valley, as the principal canton of the Confederation, and had replied, that "it would not allow them to be driven from God's word."\*

This was an act of self-government on the part of the people. As the governing body was divided, it depended on their free decision which party to espouse. They chose the cause of reform.

In Thurgau there soon remained but nine nobles who had not joined this party, and even these begged only for delay. In the Rhine valley there was only a single parish in which the majority did not vote for the burning of pictures and images, and the abolition of the mass. Finding that the reforming communes, with the help of Zürich, had been victorious over the catholic council which adhered to the party of the Five Cantons, the free bailiwicks and the country round soon followed.

However strong the assurances given, that the

\* Recess at Frauenfeld and Instructions of the Zürichers for Winfelden. Bullinger, ii. 27. Bernh. Weiss, p. 93.

secular obedience due to the established authorities should not suffer, it is obvious that the basis of power — influence, to which the subject willingly submits — was thus of necessity lost to the Five Cantons.

And already a dispute not less unfavourable to their cause had taken place in another district.

Unterwalden had ventured to offer assistance to the Bernese Oberland, where the measures taken by the city for the introduction of reform — and especially the suppression of the convent of Interlachen — had excited irritation and resistance; and without any declaration of hostilities, to invade the territory of one of its co-confederates with banners flying. Bern placed itself on the defensive, reduced its subjects to obedience, and compelled the invaders to retreat; but it is obvious what must be the effects of so open a breach of the ancient alliance. Unterwalden found support from the four cantons with which it was more particularly connected; but all the City Cantons were of opinion that Unterwalden must be chastised. Solothurn and Freiburg promised to assist Bern, as they were bound to do.

In this state of political and religious inferiority, and threatened with vengeance, the Five Cantons conceived the idea of applying to the house of Austria for succour. It was, indeed, a general principle with them not to give up alliances with foreign powers.

On the frontiers of Switzerland power was



still in the hands of those who had put down the insurrection of the peasants, and suppressed the preaching in those parts;—Count Sulz and Count Fürstenberg, and Marx Sittich of Ems, bailiff of Bregenz. The clan of Ems, which had recently been strengthened by an alliance with the castellan of Musso, sustained the cause of catholicism in the mountains generally; and the Five Cantons had no difficulty in obtaining a favourable hearing from them. Meetings were held at Feldkirch and Waldshut; the arms of Switzerland and Austria were displayed side by side; and it was even asserted that the old antagonists of the peacock's feather (the badge of the house of Austria) were now seen decorated with it. A treaty was drawn up, in which King Ferdinand and the Five Cantons mutually engaged to remain constant to the ancient faith; to chastise any who might assail it in their respective territories; and, in case this brought down hostilities upon them, to afford each other assistance. Any conquests made within the Confederation were to belong to the Five Cantons; any without its boundaries, to the king.

The chief stipulation of the treaty is, that Ferdinand guaranteed to the Five Cantons "all that may be subject to or connected with them" (and consequently the common bailiwicks and Thurgau), while the Five Cantons expressly declared that they would not regard Constance as a member of the Confederation, but would leave it to the king.\*

\* Original treaty. Hottinger, ii. 475.

The Five Cantons were right in replying to the City Cantons, who reproached them with this treaty, that they also had allied themselves with foreigners ; but the circumstances were widely different. Constance was closely connected with the Confederation, in consequence of the treaty it had concluded with Zürich. It had always been the aim of Austrian policy to prevent this ; and Maximilian had once, from that motive, taken a large part of the communes into his service : the Five Cantons now abandoned Constance to Austria.

It is remarkable that this happened at the very time (the beginning of the year 1529) when the majority of the States of the empire once more embraced the side of the house of Austria. All political grudges now disappeared before a community of religious interests.

Ferdinand sought to strengthen the Swiss alliance by every means in his power. In Innsbruck where it was concluded, he had also summoned a part of the Tyrolese landholders to the council ; all the Vorlande, Würtemberg included, were to be admitted to it. He hoped, perhaps, by this means, to break for ever the power of the Confederation\* ; but, at all events, to oppose an insuperable barrier to the further progress of the new opinions.

\* Invitation to the Würtemberg districts, ii. orig. doc., No. 144. "That the power of the same Confederation is divided by the above-mentioned union, while his Royal Majesty and his subjects who adhere to the ancient christian faith are strengthened with foreign aid, as well as the above-mentioned five cantons."

But it was a question whether a coalition of this kind could really afford protection to the Five Cantons. Its measures, tried by the principles of the Confederation, were thoroughly unjustifiable — the invasion of the Bernese territory, no less than the alliance with Ferdinand. They were utterly at variance with the idea and with the existence of the Confederation. To the success which, thanks to the goodness of their cause, attended the measures of the City Cantons, was now added all the weight of the interests of the country at large, and of indisputable right.

Peace was, at all events, out of the question for the Confederation. The deputies of the City Cantons who went into the mountain country, in order to warn their old brother confederates against forming this alliance, found the arms of their cities nailed to the gallows, and themselves treated as heretics and traitors; in spite of their presence and efforts, the most terrific punishments were inflicted on seceders. The reformation in central Switzerland had also its martyrs. Jacob Keyser, a preacher from the territory of Zürich, who went from time to time to Gaster to conduct the worship of an evangelical church in that place, was arrested in the forest of Eschibach, on the high road, and dragged to Schwytz. The office of bailiff of Gaster did not at that time belong to Schwytz; and, even if it had, the trial ought to have been heard before the tribunal of Utznach. Nevertheless the commune condemned the unfortunate

and guiltless man to the flames, which he endured with great constancy.\*

This roused Zürich to open resistance. In June, 1529, when a new bailiff of Unterwalden was to make his entrance into Baden, Zürich openly declared that it would not suffer it, nor indeed have any further community with the Unterwalders: from henceforth it would not permit them to exercise the office of bailiff in the domains over which they had a common jurisdiction.†

Zürich had long since announced to the Schwytzers its determination to avenge itself, if any violence was used towards the preacher of its feudatories. Keyser's execution was therefore the signal for war.

On the 5th of June the first company of Zürich troops marched out to protect the free bailiwicks from a bloody re-establishment of the ancient faith; soon afterwards another was sent to Thurgau and the Rhine valley, and a third to invest the Schwytz portion of Gaster, which had put the preacher to death. The enemy having instantly assembled at Bar am Boden, the great banner of the city was unfurled on the 9th of June, under the Banneret Hans Schweizer, who had already borne it in the Milanese wars.

For the first time did two Swiss armies, not, as before, of peasants and their lords, but of adversaries equal in rights and fully prepared for war,

\* Bullinger, *Ref. Gesch.* ii. p. 148. *Eidgenössische schweizerische Märtyrer*, *Misc. Tig.* ii. p. 35 (insignificant).

† They are particularly reproached for this in Eck's "*Relulsio*."

stand confronted, in consequence of religious differences. "They are so full of hatred to each other," said King Ferdinand, "that nothing but open violence is to be expected."

The evangelical party had, however, at this moment a decided superiority.

The Zürich army had not its equal. It consisted of the brave men who had embraced the cause of the reformation with all the moral earnestness with which Zwingli preached it. No common women were suffered in the camp; no curses or oaths were to be heard, and even dice were banished; the amusements consisted of athletic exercises, such as leaping, hurling, &c.; quarrels hardly ever occurred, and prayers before and after meals were never omitted. Zwingli himself was with them; he had been relieved from the obligation of going out with the great banner as preacher, but he had voluntarily mounted himself, and taken a halberd on his shoulder.

Zwingli was firmly persuaded of the superiority of his party; and as the accounts from all sides tended to confirm him in this opinion, he conceived the most sanguine hopes. It was at least certain that the Five Cantons had nothing to expect from Ferdinand, who was occupied elsewhere, and found himself reduced to make applications to his states, from which but small results were to be expected. Zwingli now thought himself about to reach the goal upon which he had from the first fixed his eyes. He would listen to no propositions of peace, unless accompanied with the two great

concessions, on which he had always insisted, *i.e.* that the whole system of pensions should be forever forsworn, and the preaching of the gospel permitted throughout all the cantons of Switzerland. He represented to the members of the government, that in this way only was unity in the state to be obtained, as well as in the church. "Stand fast in God," exclaimed he; "they give you good words now, but do not be deceived; yield nothing to their entreaties till the right is established. Then shall we have made a war more advantageous than any that was ever made before; we shall have accomplished things which will redound to the honour of God and of the city, centuries hence." \*

Had it depended on Zwingli and on Zürich alone, they would have ventured every thing, and have followed up their advantages to the utmost.

But there is a general and a most just dread of beginning war and of shedding blood. Whilst the Zürichers were preparing to take the field, Ebli, the Ammann of Glarus, appeared among them, and represented how often they had shared weal and woe with those whom they were now about to cast off. His address produced the greater effect, because he was known to be an honest man, who at bottom entertained the same views as those which prevailed at Zürich. He obtained a truce. Zwingli alone, who saw farther into futurity than

\* Opinion and letter in the Appendix to Hottinger, *Geschichte der Eidgenossen*, ii. 482.

the others, was not satisfied with a compliance which appeared to him ill-timed. "Good gossip Ammann," said he to Ebli, "thou wilt have to give an account of this matter to God."\*

Meanwhile Bern also spoke out. The powerful influence exercised by Zürich was not agreeable to the Bernese, and they now declared that they would lend assistance in case Zürich were attacked, but not otherwise.

The notion of the independence of states, which had become prevalent in Germany, also gained ground in Switzerland. Bern deemed the conditions proposed by Zwingli inadmissible, because it would not be right to interfere so much with the independence of the government of the several cantons.

Thus the obstacles which prevented the great reformer from carrying out his views with the armed hand, originated in the evangelical party itself.

Negotiations were set on foot, which, considering the power the adverse party still possessed, and the opinions that still predominated among the Confederates, could not lead to the decisive results contemplated by Zwingli.†

The utmost that could be expected was, that the Five Cantons should consent to give up the treaty with Ferdinand; should promise compensation for the expenses of the war, and the punishment of those who had used injurious language; and

\* Bullinger, ii. 170.

† Journal of Hans Stockar of Schafhausen, 199. "Dye von Zürich mianttend, uns hye och jn zu zychen, das nun wyder



should formally consent to the rule laid down by the City Cantons, that, in the common domains, the vote of the majority should decide the form of religion in each parish. The prohibition of pensions, and the freedom of the evangelical faith, were also discussed; but they were by no means so decisively agreed to as Zwingli had desired. The abolition of the pensions appeared only in the light of a request of the City Cantons to the Five Cantons; and instead of proclaiming liberty of preaching, it was only said, that the one party would not punish the religious opinions of the other.\*

But even thus it appeared that no slight advantage had been obtained.

The Five Cantons were compelled to produce on the spot their original treaty with Ferdinand; and although the mediators interposed to prevent it being read aloud, from the fear that it might revive old animosities, Ammann Ebli no sooner saw it than he stuck his dagger through the document and tore it, upon which those who were standing near snatched off the wax of the seal.

In consequence of the obvious superiority of the evangelical party, reform advanced much more rapidly after the peace.

Bullinger mentions the number of places in which a majority formed itself in favour of the new

unser Bunttbryef was und uns nitt zustund."—"Those of Zürich thought that to sign this was contrary to our treaty of confederation, and not within our competence."

\* Landtsfried zu Cappell uffgericht (Peace concluded at Cappel) 25th June, 1529, Bullinger, ii. 185.

opinions ; in his language, "how the word of God was increased." In the year 1529 Zwingli was already able to hold a synod in Thurgau, and to establish the evangelical church there. Large abbeys, like those of Wettingen and Hitzkirch, went over ; in the former, not more than two monks refused their consent. Abbot George Müller, of Baden, stipulated only that the pictures and images which were removed from the church should not be, as in so many other places, destroyed.\* Lastly, a resolution was passed by the greater and lesser councils of Schafhausen, that the mass and the images should be abolished. Hans Stockar relates, not without suppressed sorrow, how, on the Friday after Michaelmas, "the great God in the Minster" was taken away.† The city joined the union with Bern, Basel and Zürich. In Solothurn the reformers demanded and obtained a church ; and only a reputed miracle perpetuated the veneration for St. Urs. The evangelical party, protected by Bern, arose in Neuenburg ; the Catholics had already taken up arms, and it seemed as if bloodshed was inevitable, when they resolved to allow the majority to decide.‡ It decided for reform. The majority was in many cases small ; in Neuenburg it amounted to only eighteen ; in Neuenstadt, to twenty-four. The same was the case on the other side, under different influences. In Rottweil, in the immediate neighbourhood, the six catholic

\* From N. Manuel's *Missives in Grüneisen*, p. 135.

† *Journal*, 201.

‡ *Chambrier, Histoire de Neuchatel*, p. 296.

guilds committed acts of such violence on the five evangelical, that several hundred citizens were obliged to leave the town.\*

But the most important circumstance for the progress of Zwingli's opinions was, that in one of the eight older cantons, which had hitherto remained neutral — in Glarus, — where the evangelical majority had been much more free in the declaration of its opinions than in the others, it had obtained a complete ascendancy. The reformed doctrine had already so far prevailed, that only two or three churches had retained their sacred images. Although their congregations begged for nothing more than a short delay, till the emperor and the empire could take some measures for the remedy of abuses, the country communes determined (April, 1530) that these churches too should be purified, and rendered uniform with the the others in the country.† There might be some recusants; but, politically speaking, Glarus was now evangelical.

The advantage of having gained over this canton, which Zwingli, at the beginning of his career, had been obliged to abandon, was much heightened by the enlarged sphere of legitimate influence over others which was thus acquired.

\* Stettler, ii. 36.

† Tschudi in Hottinger, p. 287., note 30. Bullinger, p. 289. "Messaltäre und Götzen wurden abgemeeret: etliche Götzen uf besser Glück entzuckt und verborgen." — "Mass-altars and idols (images) were removed; some idols withdrawn and hidden till better luck."

The Abbot of St. Gall had used every endeavour to check the progress of the new doctrine in his territory (not the city, which had long espoused it, but the country), in spite of which it had made its way there as rapidly as elsewhere. This abbot was a prince of the holy empire, but Glarus, Lucern, Schwytz and Zürich exercised a protectorate over him, and, in consequence, claimed no little influence over the internal administration of his domains. At this juncture the abbot died, which rendered the change in opinion of two out of the four protecting cantons very important. Contrary to their express desire, the conventual authorities contrived, indeed, to bring about an election, which was confirmed by the emperor and the pope, and approved by Schwytz and Lucern, but which Zürich and Glarus refused to recognise; alleging that they lay under far more sacred obligations to the district where the evangelical movement was now going on, than to the conventual authorities. Zürich proceeded on the principle, that it was not the abbot who constituted the religious house, but that all the country people, villages and communes were committed to the guardianship of the protecting cantons. In concert with the inhabitants, an order was issued, according to which a captain taken out of the four protecting cantons, and a council consisting of twelve members, were to conduct the government. But, that they might not have a commander out of Schwytz or Lucern, hostile to the new doctrines, they made it an express condition that the captain

should be of the evangelical party, and that he should not receive homage till he had sworn to allow the vassals of the abbey to continue their attendance on the preaching of God's word.\* The newly established freedom extended to Toggenburg; even during Zwingli's youth, that town had begun to purchase its exemption from service to the convent, and this redemption it now completed. Early in the year 1531, Zwingli had the joy of revisiting his native place—now perfectly free—and of establishing in it a church after his own heart.†

Extensive as was this progress, it did not, however, fulfil the views which he had originally cherished, and on the accomplishment of which all depended. The ruling party in the Five Cantons remained inflexible; even on the field of Cappel the commanders were said to have promised each other, in defiance of the first article of the treaty of peace‡, not to allow the spread of the new opinions, and even to put to death any who might attempt to disseminate them. It is at all events certain, that nobody ventured to profess them in their dominions, though many were well inclined to them. The suppression of injurious language was not even

\* Ordnung und Satzung wie hinfüro by den Gottshuslütten Rat und Gericht zhalten. — Ordinance and rule how, in future, council and judgment are to be held among the people (subjects or tenants) of the house of God (abbey).

† Bullinger, ii. 271. 344.

‡ *Land friede*. — Peace of the country, *i. e.* domestic or internal peace. We want a correlative word denoting the termination of what we call *civil war*. TRANSL.

attempted. The people of Zürich and Bern were represented as a set of mean, traitorous, heretical pedlars, and their preachers, as stealers of the cup and murderers of souls: the mountaineers said, Zwingli was one of the gods of the Lutherans; the indiscriminating bigotry of their priests made no distinction between the opinions of Zwingli and those of Luther. Though the treaty with Austria was published, fresh negotiations were continually set on foot. Deputies from Lucern and Zug were present at the diet of Augsburg. On their journey thither they were most honourably received by the catholics, and were lodged in the town near the Emperor, by his especial desire; they were observed to give him some written papers. They also experienced support from their old allies, Marx Sittich, Eck of Reischach, and Hans Jacob of Landau; and they discussed vast plans, such as an attack on Strasburg; the destruction of the Confederates who might come to its aid; and a simultaneous invasion of the reformed part of Switzerland, from Savoy, the Rhineland and the Alpine country.\* These projects found the more easy credence, since the nobility of Savoy was actually preparing for a descent on Geneva; and, at the same time, the castellan of Musso, with his kinsmen and allies of Ems, fell upon the Grisons. The Five Cantons took good care to afford no assistance to the threatened districts; indeed the people

\* Christian Friedbald of St. Gall, Augsburg, 16th July, in Escher und Hottingers Schweizerischem Archiv i. p. 433.

of Wallis plainly declared that, for the sake of the faith, this ought not to be done. Zürich and Bern naturally combined all these circumstances; and, indeed, the same was done on the other side\*;—for example, King Ferdinand feared that if the City Cantons were masters of the Grisons, they would attack the Five Cantons, and when once they had subdued them, would turn their arms against the hereditary dominions and the empire. It was mainly on this ground that he requested the emperor to afford succour, if necessary, to the Five Cantons.†

\* From a letter from Bern to Zürich, 16th. October, 1530. Hottinger, ii. 326. The game was begun too soon: a Savoyard let out the secret that this was the plan of the clergy. See Landgrave Philip's Instructions in Escher's Archives, ii. p. 304.

† Extracts from Ferdinand's letter to Charles in Bucholtz, v. 258.



## CHAPTER III.

ATTEMPTS AT A RECONCILIATION OF THE TWO  
PROTESTANT PARTIES.

AT this juncture we find the Confederation in circumstances very analogous to those of the empire.

In the Swiss diet, as well as in that of the empire, an increasing minority, sustained by public opinion, stood opposed to an orthodox majority.

The chief difference consisted in this; —that the emperor and the empire possessed a spiritual, as well as a temporal authority; while the Swiss diet, which could not appeal for support to the emperor (to whom, as such, it had no legal relation) was wholly without the former. On the other hand, however, the Swiss minority had not, like the German, general decrees of former diets in its favour. The conflict was, in Switzerland, more one of fact; in Germany, of law.

Both majorities looked to the house of Austria as their main prop. It appeared, therefore, the interest of the minorities to use the most earnest endeavours to heal the breach that had so long existed between them.

But the misfortune was, that Zwingli had expressed himself in the year 1530, in a manner rather calculated to excite resentment and increase division, than to bring about any sort of

reconciliation. Whether he was irritated by the unfavourable reports which were spread by the Lutherans concerning the conference of Marburg; — or whether he was influenced by Carlstadt, who had just then come to visit him, and soon after obtained a post in Switzerland, it is impossible to determine:—it is enough to say, that hardly was the Augsburg Confession in his hands, when he sent the emperor, though not at all called upon to do so, a statement of own his belief, in which he not only attacked the catholic church with greater violence than Melancthon had done (for example, he utterly rejected the institution of bishops), but also retracted concessions he had already made, such as that on original sin: indeed he almost expressly reproached Luther with sighing to return to the flesh-pots of Egypt, and gave the coarsest interpretation to his words.\*

It was therefore no wonder that the Lutherans expressed an increased aversion to the followers of Zwingli.

The necessity for peace was, however, so urgent, that at this moment the desire to effect a reconciliation arose in another place.

The Oberland States, especially Strasburg, belonged, in fact, to both parties.

\* Ad Carolum Romanum Imperatorem fidei Huldrychi Zwinglii ratio. Quod Christi corpus per essentiam et realiter, h. e. corpus ipsum naturale, in coelo aut adsit aut ore dentibusque manduceter, quemadmodum Papistæ et quidam qui ad ollas Egyptiacas respectant perhibent, id vero neque tantum negamus, sed . . . Mitratum genus atque pedatum (says he, further on) credimus *νόθον*.

On the one hand, they shared in the peculiar circumstances of the German cities, and in the desire which prevailed with singular strength among them to render the clergy subject to the civil law, and to put an end to the influence of the great religious bodies on the presentation to benefices;— an influence which had been as great in Strasburg as anywhere. In all the measures they had adopted, they had constantly referred to the Recesses of the imperial diets. In consequence of the Recess of 1523, the council of Strasburg had issued an admonition to the preachers, “henceforward to preach undaunted the Holy Scripture, pure and unmixed with men’s fables; for a worshipful council would support them in the same.”\* From the diet of 1526, the Strasburgers further deduced their right to make alterations in the ceremonies of the church; especially, to abolish the mass; and from this they did not suffer themselves to be deterred by the admonitions of King Ferdinand, or the Council of Regency.† They were consequently among the first who were impeached before the Imperial Chamber. In all these respects, they had now to adopt the same means for their defence as the other German cities.

On the other hand, however, the dogmatic

\* Rörich, i. 175. 455. In the first chapter of the *Tetrapolitana*, the motive assigned for this change is, that the great diet of 1523 commanded that the sermons be taken out of the Holy Scripture, and the authority cited.

† Statement of the deputies of the Council of Regency. Jung, *Actenstücke*, p. 66.

opinions of Zwingli were very popular in Strasburg, and gradually became completely predominant; statues and altars were removed; the interior walls of the churches, ornamented with paintings, were washed over with stone colour; the preachers proclaimed that no graven image must be tolerated by the godly; no instrumental music was permitted; even the organs were all silenced.\* Strasburg had likewise the same political interests as the Swiss cantons, in so far as both were menaced by the Austrian power in Alsatia. In January 1530, it joined the union of the Swiss cities; they promised each other mutual aid, and, in particular, Strasburg engaged to furnish the Swiss with gunpowder.

Such being the religious and political state and interests of Strasburg, it may be imagined that no where was the desire for the reconciliation of the contending parties more earnest.

And already had a man appeared who devoted his whole life to bring about this reconciliation, as to matters of doctrine.

This man was Martin Butzer. After the fall of Sickingen, in whose service he was, he had been driven by persecution from place to place, with a pregnant wife (he was one of the first evangelical preachers who had married), and in the greatest poverty, and had at length sought refuge in Strasburg, where he found not only an asylum, but a field for his highest and most strenuous exertions.

\* Röhrich Ref. v. Strasburg, ii. p. 8.

It is reported of him, that, in his youth, when carrying on scholastic disputations, he had invented a method for severing the essential and necessary from the accessory and accidental.\* By comparing the subject with each of the two contradictory predications, he discovered a third term which reconciled them. Butzer has the reputation of a pliancy not always to be justified. He is generally thought to have yielded too much to circumstances. It is undeniable that his attempts at mediation were prompted by the pressing necessity for peace without, no less than by his own reflections; but they were, as far as his convictions were concerned, most sincere. He possessed an acute and subtle apprehension of the ideas of others, and a remarkable talent for developing them;—for what may be called secondary production.

At first, Butzer had seen in Luther's interpretation of the Lord's Supper, merely a new attempt to turn Christ into bread, as he calls it (*eine neue Verbrotung Christi*)†; but, on a more profound study, especially of the greater confession of the Lord's Supper, it became clear to him that this was not the case: in a treatise he wrote, as early as the

\* *Adami Vitae Theologorum*, 102.

† Fragment of a letter from Butzer to the brethren in Coire, Röhrich, ii. 135. The letter to Blaurer (*ibid.* p. 275.) is likewise very instructive. *Dum ipsi (Lutherani) veram praesentiam tueri voluerunt, . . . . iis verbis eam affirmarunt, quæ si ad vim exiget, localem statuunt. Contra nostri, dum localem voluerunt negare, sic locuti sunt, ut visi sint Christum cœna prorsus excludere.*

year 1528\*, he remarks, that Luther's real meaning was totally different from that generally imputed to him. In this opinion he was confirmed at the conference of Marburg.

But he was not more disposed to accede to the notion generally entertained by the Lutherans, that the Oberländer regarded the Lord's Supper as merely bread and wine. We have observed that, at the diet of Augsburg, the four cities found themselves compelled, as they were not allowed to subscribe the Saxon confession, to deliver in a confession of their own. Butzer who had the principal share in drawing it up, made choice of such expressions as might preclude the possibility of this reproach for the future. In the 18th article of the "Confession of the four Free and Imperial Cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau," — the so-called *Tetrapolitana* — it is said, "The Lord gives, in the Sacrament, his real body and real blood, really to eat and to drink, for the nutriment of souls to eternal life."† It is evident that the word "real" is designedly repeated, but without prejudice to the spiritual import of the partaking.

For Butzer's scheme of reconciliation rested on the assumption that Luther did not, any more than

\* *Vergleichung Doctor Luthers und seines Gegentheyls — Dialogus*, 1528. — (Comparison of Dr. Luther and his adversaries.)

† First printed in 1531, with an apology of Butzer, in which Hospinian, a zealous Zwinglian, finds the "*vera et orthodoxa sententia de cena domini*." *Historia sacramentaria*, ii. 221.

his antagonists, mean that the body was locally contained in the bread; but only that there existed a sacramental unity of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and the wine; and that, on the other hand, the spiritual nature of the partaking did not exclude the real presence of the body of Christ. In so far as Luther ascribed a spiritual essence to the body of Christ, Butzer sided with him. He admitted that the body might unquestionably have another than a local presence; the bread and wine did not cease to be symbols, but they were symbols of the present, not of the absent body; of the bodily presence, — that is to say, the *real* presence.\*

The question now was, whether Butzer would succeed in rendering this explanation acceptable to both parties.

He first submitted it to Melanchthon at Augsburg; after which he hastened to Coburg, where he showed Luther those passages of his writings which treated the most plainly of the sacramental spiritual partaking; he reported that he had received from both assurances which led him to hope the best.

Luther, however, was not disposed to make the task of mediation a light one. To guard against mistake, he proposed two questions which left no

\* Melanchthon de Bucerii sententia. Corp. Ref. ii. 316. See Literae Bucerii ad Pontanum 4th Aug. 1530, in Cölestin ii. 302. Letter of Butzer's to Duke Ernest of Lüneburg in Hess's "Leben Oekolampads," p. 317.



room for ambiguity : the one, whether the body was really in the symbols ; the other, whether it was really received by sinners. It is remarkable that the latter and more difficult of these questions had already been raised in the 12th century. Otto of Freisingen alludes to it, but he thinks it better to evade it, than to command that it be answered in the affirmative.\* To Luther this affirmative did not appear to be attended with any such great difficulty, since it must at all events be admitted that God's word was heard by sinners,—that God's sun shone even upon the blind. And in fact, Butzer declared himself in a satisfactory manner on both points. He acknowledged that Christ was really present in the sacrament ; even in the bread and to the mouth ; and that, as all the promises of Christ must be true, he did not doubt that the ungodly, as well as the pious, partook of the body and blood of Christ. For himself, he accepted both articles. With regard, however, to his "Co-servants of the Word," he remarked, that they were convinced of the first, but were not free from doubt as to the second.† Luther had

\* *Chronicorum liber viii., Prologus : utrum mali veraciter sacramentis communicent, an exterius tantum ea accipiant.*

† We have not, indeed, Butzer's letter itself ; but the expressions of Luther, to whom it was addressed, leave no doubt as to its contents. (To Wencelaus Link, in *De Wette* iv. 327.) Likewise to Menius : *Bucerus effecit tantum, ut concedant omnes, vere adesse et porrigi corpus Domini, etiam corporali præsentia ; cæteri tantum fidei animæ ac piæ ; Bucerus vero consentit et impiorum manu porrigi et ore sumi.* In *Plank*, iii. 340., these letters are obviously overlooked.

previously consented not to press the second at present, if the first were but agreed on: this he now repeated; by the admission that the sacrament was in the symbols, he invested it with its proper quality; the question, what sinners received, he agreed to postpone.

This was an epoch in which ecclesiastical, nay, even dogmatical questions, were interwoven in the closest manner with political.

In consequence of the first advances made by Butzer, an invitation had been sent to the delegates of the Oberland cities to take part in the deliberations at Schmalkalden, in Dec., 1530. But after an explanation like that above, they were, without further scruple, formally received into the union at the second meeting.\* John Frederick, who filled the place of his father, made it his first business to speak with the deputies of the four cities; he exhorted them openly to preach the doctrine thus agreed on, and to cause it to be made known to all the world. They assured him that, as Butzer did not treat for himself alone, but with

\* Instruction uf den angesetzten Tag gegen Schmalkalden, Torgau, 25th March. "Uns ist itso wieder ein Schreiben von Wittenberg zukommen, so der Butzer an Dr. Martin und Phil. Mel. gethan, daraus die zween, wie uns angezeigt ist worden, nit anders zu vernehmen wissen, denn das der hinterstelligen Punkt halber auch vollend verglichen." (W. A.) — "Another letter from Wittenberg has now come to us, which Butzer had addressed to Dr. Martin and Philip Melancthon, from which, as it is shown to us, those twain can understand no otherwise than that the article concerning the doubtful point had been fully settled."

the authority of his masters, there could be no doubt on the subject.\* Strasburg, Lindau, Constance and Memmingen had been joined not only by Biberach, Ysni and Reutlingen, but even by Ulm. This powerful city had protested against the Recess of Spire; and, in spite of all the emperor's admonitions, had refused to subscribe the Recess of Augsburg;—measures of so decisive a nature as clearly to show how strong the reforming spirit must already be. But the opposite party in the city long retained considerable strength, and numerous violent re-actions took place. At length the citizens gave the council full powers to restore order. In a very short time an evangelical confession appeared, agreeing with the Tetrapolitana on the article of the Lord's Supper. The cities above-mentioned all signed the treaty of mutual defence at Schmalkalden.

Butzer's efforts having thus been successful with regard to Saxony, he proceeded to inculcate his views in Switzerland.

Of the two great Swiss reformers, he gained over one without difficulty. The peaceful Oekolampadius thought that Butzer was as diligent a

\* Account of the transactions at the diet held at Schmalkalden in the week after Judica. "Haben keinen Zweifel, sie (ihre Herrn) werden verschaffen, dass dergleichen gepredigt gelehrt und verkündigt werde, auch solches lautbar zu machen."—"Have no doubt that they (our governors) will take care that the same shall be preached, taught, and proclaimed, so as to make it known."

promoter of truth as of charity, and recommended his interpretation to his colleague, Zwingli.\*

It was impossible, however, that Zwingli should share his sentiments.

In the first place, he had far too frequently and too decidedly accused Luther of a coarse and material view of the subject, lightly to abandon the charge. It was also not to be denied that, although Butzer adhered to the idea of the spiritual partaking, he approached nearer to Luther's exposition of the mystery than Zwingli could possibly approve. He was too conscious that his view of the subject was to be traced to a totally different origin. He did not directly reject Butzer's formula, but the three-fold repetition of the word "*real*" was very offensive to him; he thought that people would understand this in the sense of *natural*. He had no objection to Butzer's publication of a letter which he had addressed to the Swiss, on the identity of the two doctrines; but he reserved to himself the right of giving a commentary upon it, expressive of his own peculiar opinion. He consented indeed to adopt the formula, that the body of Christ was present in the sacrament; but not without the addition of the words, "only to the believing soul;" he utterly refused to assent to the proposition, that the body of Christ was presented to the mouth.†

\* *Utriusque (veritatis et caritatis) Bucerus mea sententia observantissimus est. Proinde confido non ingratum tibi fore quicquid ille in medium attulit.* 19th Nov. 1530, in Hottinger ii. 320.

† Letter in Hess, *Oekolampadius*, p. 341.

The whole force of his original conception was aroused within him, and he could not be induced to advance one step further on the path of conciliation.

This, however, did not prevent Basel, under the guidance of Oekolampadius, from accepting the mediation. There was already a report in Switzerland of a peculiar doctrine taught by Oekolampadius, which was said to have a considerable number of adherents.\*

In short, the rumours of a closer union between the two parties of reformers were general, earnest, and uninterrupted. In a certain sense this had already taken place; Strasburg, and, since July 1530, Landgrave Philip having joined the union of the Swiss cities, at the same time that they were members of the Schmalkaldic league. The following fact appears to me extremely striking:—Bullinger's History contains a copy of a treaty of alliance which Zürich laid before Basel and Bern, at a congress held in February 1531, with the remark, that it was already accepted by some Germans. On nearer inspection I find that, word by word, from beginning to end, it is merely and precisely

\* From the otherwise very empty and uninformative essay of Faber, *de admirabili catholicis . . . data victoria*, we see this (cap. vi. Opp. 'iii. 145.) In a letter of Landgrave Philip, dated the Friday after Palm Sunday, (W. A.) Oekolampadius is regarded as completely agreeing with that party. "Since Oekolampadius and the others are of one mind with us in the matter of the sacrament, and it is to be hoped that the others also will come to us" . . . .

the formula of the Schmalkaldic treaty. How remarkable, that Zürich should (at least, as it appears from this) have earnestly proposed to its most intimate allies to join the Schmalkaldic league!

There was no point of time at which the Swiss Confederation was so near to an internal reconstitution, in consequence of the progress of church reform, and likewise to a re-union with Germany, as the one we are now contemplating. The two factions into which it was divided were powerfully attracted by the corresponding elements of the German mother country. Zwingli said, the matter must be settled in Switzerland, before the emperor would have his hands free in Germany. Ferdinand feared a general union of all the protestants. In the unusually energetic resistance which he encountered on all hands, he thought he detected traces of the confidence which such a coalition was calculated to inspire.\*

But religious differences once more formed an insuperable obstacle to their union.

At the meeting at Frankfurt on the Main, in June, 1531, the matter was agitated anew.

Bern and Zürich had again declared that they would not accept Butzer's formula, not because it appeared to them unchristian, but because it was obscure, and might easily give occasion to dangerous misconceptions.†

\* Es cierto que se haran todos unos y peores que nunca por los fuerças y ventaja que de dia en dia van cobrando los que siguen estas sectas. Prina, 27th March 1531.

† Correspondence between Bern, Basel, and Zürich in Escher

On the other hand, the Elector of Saxony had instructed his envoys, in case the Confederation should not subscribe a confession in harmony with that of Augsburg, to break off all negotiations with them, and to refuse even to be the bearers of any thing they might desire to send him.

This again necessarily had an influence on the internal transactions of the Schmalkaldic league.

A project of a military organisation was submitted in Frankfurt, which the Oberländer thought very ably conceived and expedient; but they declined to subscribe it, because it did not include the confederate cantons. They declared that the enemies by whom they were surrounded were too strong; allies so remote would not be able to afford them adequate assistance.

Without doubt they wished to wait to see how things would turn out in Switzerland.

For it was evident that in that country every thing would be referred to the decision of arms, and that this decision would re-act in various ways on Upper Germany.

and Hottinger's Archiv ii. p. 290. Basel insists that Butzer's explanation is "also luter, das sie mit irem (der Gegner) natürlichen lyblichen substanzlichen oder wesentlichen Lyb gar keine Gemeinschaft hat."—"so clear, that it has nothing whatever in common with their (the opposite party's) natural, bodily, substantial, or material body."



## CHAPTER IV.

## CATASTROPHE OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

THE attack made by Savoy on Geneva was repulsed in 1530; in the spring of 1531, the Castellan of Musso was also driven out of the Grisons. As, on the one side, the cities had not joined the Schmalkaldic league, so on the other, the Five Cantons had in fact concluded no alliance with Austria. The two parties in the Confederation stood confronted, each limited to its own resources, but more embittered than ever.

The Five Cantons complained, and indeed not unjustly, that their rights as majority were no longer respected. They refused to assent to ordinances like those which had been issued in St. Gall. The first captain who, according to the new regulations, was to assume the command there (he was from Lucern), disdained to take an oath to peasants, and rode away.

On the other hand, the evangelical cities were, also with apparent justice, incensed that they had not been supported in matters regarding their interests as members of the Confederation, and affirmed that the bond which united them was thus broken: nor were they disposed longer to endure the

“coarse, inhuman” vituperation of which they had been the object. The answers of the Five Cantons were, they said, in themselves an insult.\*

Zwingli's intention had been to put an end to the thing at once by force.

The difference which existed between Luther and Zwingli was at least as great on political, as on religious points. Luther's policy, if it deserves the name, was entirely dependent on his religious views, and was limited to immediate defence. Zwingli, on the contrary, pursued, from the very beginning, ends of a positively political nature ; a complete change in the form of the Confederation was the central point of all his ideas, and he had laid the most extensive plans for its accomplishment. He is, without doubt, in both respects, the greatest reformer that Switzerland has produced.

It had often been complained of as unfair, that the forest cantons, which contributed so much less in men and money to the wars of the Confederation than the populous city cantons, yet enjoyed an equal share of the advantages of victory and dominion. This was the true cause of the dissensions which followed the Burgundian wars. Zwingli found that this state of things had of late become more intolerable. Zug having joined the four forest cantons, a majority had been formed which decided all the business of the diets, and

\* *Antwurten und Meinungen der Radtsbotten der christlichen Stetten.* — Answers and opinions of the envoys of the councils of the Christian cities. 24th April, 1531. Bullinger, ii. 362.

against which there existed no lawful remedy. Zwingli was of opinion that this advantage, which they so recklessly abused, was highly unjust. The guidance of the Confederation much more properly belonged to the two cities of Zürich and Bern, which had always been its most powerful members, and done the most for its interests. It would be necessary to send back the act of Confederation to the Five Cantons, and make a new one, either entirely excluding them from the common bailiwicks (at least on this side of the Alps); or making a fresh division; or at all events putting an end to their influence as a majority.\*

We see that Zwingli wanted to place the constitution on a totally different basis, and to establish its unity on the preponderance of actual force. The same principles would then have prevailed through the whole territory, both in religion and politics.

Plans of this sort can never be executed without an energetic co-operation of forces at the favourable moment. The first question was, whether Master Ulrich Zwingli, powerful and respected as he was, were sufficiently so to unite his own party in an undertaking of this kind.

But even in Zürich, Zwingli had still to contend with hostile opinions and obstinate private interests. In the Grand Council, which managed the

\* Was Zürich und Bern Not zu betrachten sey in dem fünfortigen Handel. — What is to be regarded as the danger of Zürich and Bern in the quarrel with the Five Cantons. Hottinger, ii. 487.

affairs of the church, there were still, towards the end of the year 1528, men who retained their preference for the old usages. Zwingli demanded from the pulpit the purification of the council from the ungodly, who could not endure the word of God. Accordingly, Zwingli's partisans proceeded to interrogate the members of the guilds, one after another, whether they would repair to the Lord's table like other Christians; and excluded those who refused, from the council.\* But this did not put an end to all the difficulties. Among the noble families there were many who had reluctantly given up the pensions, and had not broken off all connexion with the leaders of the Five Cantons. If Zwingli could not break this connexion, he was determined at least to render it innocuous. The influence of the noble families in Zürich rested upon this,—that whereas only three members of each of the other guilds sat in the Lesser, and twelve in the Grand Council, the noble guild—called the Constafel—had the privilege of sending six to the former, and eighteen to the latter.† Zwingli had sufficient influence to break down this inequa-

\* Bernhard Weiss, p. 91., fortunately enters more into detail than Bullinger. The difficulties of the situation are moreover apparent from the following passage from Zwingli's own writings:—*An non optimi quique ac innocentissimi, cum senatores tum plebei, sic me colunt ac tuentur, ut nisi id constanter facerent, minor esset publica tranquillitas. Responsio ad amici haud vulgaris epistolam. Gualth. ii. 323.*

† See Bluntschli *Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte von Zürich*, i. 359.—Unfortunately, this book contains no further account of the above-mentioned relations.

lity. He carried the point of putting the Constafel on the same footing as the other guilds.

Nothing less than measures of such severity in Zürich itself, could have brought about that politico-religious unity in the public authority which was necessary to Zwingli's plans. But it was clear that secret, if not open counteraction was inevitable. In a very short time he was made to feel this.

Far greater difficulties were opposed to him by Bern. There, where the attachment to the pensions was much more deeply rooted; where a certain jealousy of Zürich always showed itself; the separation which had hitherto existed between the several cantons found stubborn, if not ardent defenders.

I know not whether Zwingli's plan, which seemed so advantageous to the Bernese, was ever even submitted to them. I find no trace of it in the transactions of their diets.

The demands of the city cantons were confined to the three following: first, that blasphemers should be punished; secondly, that the poor people who had been driven from house and home for conscience sake, should be received again; lastly, that the religious doctrines of the city cantons should be tolerated in the territories of the other cantons\*; —demands which the nature of the case

\* All the negotiations are to be found in Bullinger's Chronicle, from which nearly all authors, even the earlier ones, have drawn most of their information, and which is now printed. The want of the continuation of Zwingli's correspondence is severely felt.

rendered inevitable. For what could be the Confederation in which the one member would not receive the oath of the other ? What the community of justice in the bailiwicks, where the one portion of the ruling body persecuted the faith in which the other beheld its salvation ? How, above all, could the evangelical members of the Confederation look on, while, at a few miles distance, their co-religionists were thrown into prison ? These demands therefore were merely an assertion of the christian character of the new state of things ; a recognition of this was all that they claimed.

At this time, however, the religious creed was far too intimately connected with the civil power for concessions, even of this kind, to be obtained, except by compulsion. In the Five Cantons, that power was founded on the exclusive sway of catholicism. Had the authorities consented to admit the contrary opinion, a hostile party would have formed itself in the population, under their own eyes ; and, supported by the tendencies of the age, and encouraged by sympathy from without, might easily have become dangerous to themselves. They therefore at once decidedly rejected these demands.

Upon this Zwingli did not hesitate to advise war, and to urge an immediate attack while the advantage was still in their hands : he so far prevailed that Zürich, where no one now ventured openly to oppose him, declared itself for that course.

In Bern, however, his authority was not so great. That city also regarded coercive measures as inevitable, but did not choose immediately to come to extremities. It succeeded in prevailing on its allies for the moment to resort to no act of open aggression against the Five Cantons, but merely to withhold supplies.

This however was little likely to content Zwingli. He clearly saw that delay would ruin every thing. He felt that his adversaries at home were once more bestirring themselves, and complained from the pulpit of the support that Zürich itself afforded to the enemy. At one moment he was seriously determined to resign his post. As he was prevented, though with difficulty, from putting this design in execution, he made another attempt to convince the Bernese of the necessity of adopting another line of conduct. We find him holding a secret meeting, by night, in the house of the preacher at Bremgarten, with certain delegates from Bern, while the councillors of Bremgarten kept watch without. But he seems not to have found much encouragement here. Before day dawned Bullinger conducted his master to the road, through a gate near the shooting-house. Zwingli was deeply depressed. He wept as he took leave of Bullinger. "God keep thee, Henry," said he, "and only remain thou faithful to the Lord Christ and his church."\* In August a comet had appeared; Abbot George Müller of Wettingen one day asked

\* Bullinger's narrative, iii. 49.



Zwingli in the churchyard of the great minster, what that might signify. "My George," answered Zwingli, "it will cost me and many an honest man dear: the church will be in jeopardy, but you will not be deserted by Christ."\*

Things fell out as Zwingli had foreseen,—indeed as it was inevitable that they should. Bern probably hoped that the common people in the Five Cantons would not be able to hold out against the scarcity, and would rise against their governors; but the very contrary came to pass. The people were exasperated because, under the pretence of zeal for the christian religion, their adversaries withheld the fruits of the earth, which God caused to grow

\* I may be permitted here to quote the charming narrative of a contemporary, which has been printed in the Schw. Mus. ii. 535. He tells how, when he was at St. Gall in those days. he one night climbed up the Bernegh with Zwingli's friend Vadianus, Dr. Joachim von Watt, and some others;—how when they had climbed up to the very top, the doctor seated himself in the midst of them upon the ground in the dew, and explained to them the names of the constellations, the opposite motions of the Zodiac and the rest of the firmament, and the wonders of the Creator, whom he desired soon to behold. Hereupon he cast his eyes upon the country, and spoke of the first settlement by the Romans, of the founding and fortunes of the town, how many times it had been burnt, whence each gate thereof had its name, how the neighbouring forest had been cleared, and who had established the flourishing trade of linen weaving: this thought led him back again to the comet, which none doubted to portend the wrath of God. Theophrastus von Hohenheim, then dwelling at St. Gall, and others, interpreted it to foreshow not only bloodshed and the overthrow of the government, but especially the destruction of learned men.

freely for all.\* The governing class turned this disposition of the public mind to the advantage of their own authority. The Zürichers had put forth a manifesto for their justification, and had sent it to Lucern; the council of Lucern treated all those who had received and communicated it to others as traitors, and sentenced them to the rack. And, indeed, the feeling of continual offence was of itself sufficient to render the temper of the two parties more hostile from day to day. Thus all negotiations were abortive. The Five Cantons persisted in demanding of the cities to open the common stores to them, according to the terms of the Confederation, or to grant them their rightful share. The cities refused to enter into the question of right, as, by the terms of the public peace, the withholding of the stores was expressly appointed as the punishment for continued insults and offences. This punishment they now intended to inflict. The mediators, among whom we find Strasburg deputies, proposed that the punishment of the insults complained of should be left to them. To this the cities consented, but the country cantons were not to be induced to agree to it.

No remedy could be devised; war was inevitable; war, under totally different auspices from what Zwingli had desired.

In September the Five Cantons held a diet at Lucern, in order to consult on the means of carry-

\* Hallwyl in Kirchhofer's Haller, 107.

ing on the war. At first Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, *ob dem Wald*, were against an immediate attack; indeed Uri proposed to wait for the resolutions of the approaching diet of the empire. But Unterwalden, *nied dem Wald*, insisted on the necessity of declaring war without delay, and at length all came round to this opinion; "for they could not perish of hunger, they must fetch means of subsistence, and for this they must risk body and soul."\*

The friends of the Five Cantons regarded their decision with some alarm. King Ferdinand feared they would succumb, and that the confusion would then become too violent and general to be repressed.

They were undoubtedly very inferior in numbers, but they were united; their leaders were bound together in the closest manner by community of interest and of danger, and were supported by the popular exasperation. They had likewise the advantage that while no active steps had as yet been taken in the cities, they could rush down from their mountain fortresses, and make a sudden attack on the most vulnerable points. For some days nothing was heard of them; the passes were vigilantly guarded, and no suspicious person was allowed to go out or in. There were, in the high country, friends of the Zürichers, who had promised to give them intelli-

\* Bullinger, iii. 73. The first attack upon Bern emanated rather from Obwalden.

gence if any thing was in preparation ; but they were so strictly watched as to render this impossible. A few days only were necessary to make all ready for an outbreak. Suddenly, on the 9th of October, a company from Lucern crossed the borders, and plundered the free bailiwicks. On the 10th, a boat laden with soldiers was seen crossing the lake of Zug ; the sound of horns announced their arrival in Zug, and the pipes of the men of Uri was heard on the border. At the above-mentioned meeting at Lucern it was immediately determined to combine forces at Zug ; the council of war had only to fix the day, and then to set things in order for the attack.\*

Had the cities been prepared for this assault, they would easily have repulsed it ; Zürich had only to guard the pass over the Albis, and she would have time to make the most efficient preparations for her defence. But the Zürichers were up to this moment continually occupied with the coercive measures they had adopted ; they had just been devising means to prevent the approach of troops from Alsatia on either side the Reuss. Whilst busied about means of coercion, they found themselves suddenly attacked. Their confusion was the greater, since the attack coming from dif-

\* Kurze Beschreibung der fünf katholischen Orte Kriegs wider ihre Eidgenossen der fünf zwinglischen Orte ; (Short description of the war of the five catholic cantons against their confederates of the five Zwinglian cantons) which, since Haller's time, has been attributed to Gilg Tschudi, but which appears in MS. under the name of Cysat and others. Balthasar's *Helvetia*, ii. p. 186.

ferent quarters, left them in doubt against what point it was more especially directed.

On the morning of the 11th of October, 1531, the militia of the Five Cantons took the oath, and marched, eight thousand men strong, under their five banners, to invade the territory of their chief foe, the Zürichers.

In front of them, near Cappel, a troop of about twelve hundred Zürichers had posted themselves.

The great banner had indeed been unfurled the same morning in the city of Zürich, and the militia belonging to it began to assemble; but all this was done with disorder and precipitation. At the same hour a part of the troops marched towards the free bailiwicks. And now, at the decisive moment, it became evident that all were not of the same mind. A secret counteraction had paralysed every measure.\* Message after message arrived, that the combined forces of the enemy threatened the troop at Cappel, and would utterly destroy it if assistance were not immediately sent; so that the militia attached to the banner, weak as it was — there were only seven hundred men — was compelled to take the field without further delay.

The only means of salvation would have been, to surrender Cappel and withdraw the troop.

The proposal was indeed made in their ranks to retire before the superior force. But it appeared to these brave men an act of cowardice to retreat

\* Examination of Rudolf Lavater. Escher, ii. 311.

a step, even when their inferiority was so manifest. Rüdý Gallmann stamped his foot on the ground when the proposal was made, and exclaimed, "God grant that I may not live to see the day when I shall yield one foot of earth to these people. Let this rather be my grave."

Already had the superior enemy advanced and the firing begun, as the banner reached the summit of the Albis. The company was, as we have said, extremely weak. William Töning, captain of sharpshooters, looked around, and gave it as his opinion that it would be better to halt a while, and to wait for re-inforcement from the people, who were now flocking to join them, before they marched further. But Master Ulrich Zwingli, who had also marched out with the banner, and, on this occasion, as preacher, in virtue of the office which he had not been permitted to resign, replied, that it would ill become them to look down idly from the mountain on the brave people fighting below. "I will to them in God's name," added he, "and die with them, or help to save them."—"Wait, Töning, till thou be'st fresh again," said the standard-bearer. "I am as fresh as you," answered Töning, "and will be with you."

The company of the Five Cantons had posted itself on a little height surrounded with wood, called the Schürenberg\*; here the banner rushed

\* In the "Kurze Beschreibung," Schönenberg; but there too it ought rather to be Schürenberg. "Ist ein ziemlich hoher Bühel, daruff vor Zyten ettliche hüser und schüren gestanden sind,

upon them. It was, indeed, the force of Zürich which now stood confronted with the Five Cantons; but carelessness at first, disunion and want of discipline afterwards, had caused it to consist of little more than two thousand men, whereas the city could easily have put ten thousand men into the field.

This little band was now met by the troops of the Five Cantons, four-fold their numbers, not (to say the least) less warlike, and far better commanded. Little remains to be said of a battle which was decided ere it began. The Zürichers had left the thicket at the foot of the hill unoccupied; through this the enemy rushed, almost unobserved, and began the attack with the utmost confidence in his superiority. The valour of the Zürichers was of no avail; they were routed and overthrown in a moment, and a furious carnage began. Of the two thousand Zürichers, five hundred perished; and what was the most grievous, among them were the most eminent and zealous evangelical leaders, for they had been the first to take up arms. There did Rüdý Gallmann find the grave he pointed to. The standard-bearers, Schweizer and Wilhelm Töning, fell, and the banner itself was saved with great difficulty: the guildmaster Funk, the brave Bernhard Weiss, to whom we are indebted for so many excellent reports\*; the director Geroldseck,

daher mans genampt hat, wie es noch heisst, zu oder uff Schüren.” — “This is a somewhat high hill, whereon in former times stood several houses and barns, whence it had the name by which it still is known, of the barns (Schüren).” Bulling. iii. 111.

\* According to Accolti (in *Epistolis Sadoleti*, vii. 273.), of



several preachers, and, in the midst of his flock Zwingli himself. The enemy, drunk with victory, and already dispersed over the battle-field in search of plunder, found him lying under a tree, still breathing, "with his hands folded and his eyes raised to heaven." Is it too much to conjecture that as he lay there weltering in his blood, a thought which he had lately expressed in gloomy forebodings was present to his soul? The prospects of the Confederation, in the sense in which he understood and desired it, he probably felt he must renounce for ever; the prospects of the church and of the religion of the gospel, he could contemplate with unshaken confidence. Thus was he found dying by two common soldiers, who exhorted him to confess himself to a priest, or as it already seemed too late for that, at least to receive the blessed Virgin and the saints into his heart. He made no answer, and only shook his head; they did not know who he was; they thought him some obscure "stubborn heretic," and gave him a death-stroke. It was not till the next day that it was remarked that Zwingli was one among the many distinguished men who had fallen. All flocked to see him. One of his acquaintances from Zug declared that his countenance in death had the same expres-

the 300 senators only seven remained. The truth is that seven members of the lesser, and nineteen of the Great Council were killed in battle, besides sixty citizens and seven clergymen (*quam plurimi sacerdotes!*). Bullinger enumerates them all. The rest were men from the country. Accolti, indeed, reckons the Zürichers at 20,000 men.

sion as it used to have when inspired by the ardour of his mind in preaching. No sight could be more welcome to his enemies, the pensioners. They instituted a sort of trial of Zwingli, quartered his body, burned it, and scattered the ashes to the winds.

But the Five Cantons were not yet completely victors and masters in the Confederation. The Zürichers now determined to occupy the pass over the Albis, and under the shelter thus afforded, they collected their strength. They had very shortly an army of twelve thousand men of their own, and allied cantons in the field. Meanwhile Bern too had taken the field, and its army, together with those of Basel and Biel, was supposed to amount to about the same number. When these troops united at Bremgarten, the Five Cantons saw clearly that they could do nothing against such masses; they therefore evacuated the ravaged territory, and retreated towards Zug, where they encamped at Bar am Boden.

It now appeared as if an offensive war might be carried on by the cities, as Zwingli had always advised; and they did indeed march in pursuit of their enemy; but circumstances were totally altered.

Since their victory, the Five Cantons had become bolder than they had ever been before; on the other hand, it was remarked that the cities wanted an impulse such as Zwingli would perhaps have given them. Zürich had indeed lost its best citizens: people said, "they had lost the rye out of

the wheat.”\* The Bernese had never displayed much ardour for war, and consequently they did not engage in it with the necessary energy. They neglected to fall on the enemy at the favourable moment, when he was changing his position. When at length they resolved to attack the very strong encampment in which he now was, from the Zug mountains on the one side and the valley on the other, and for that purpose occupied the mountain, they did it with so little skill and prudence, that they gave the enemy, whom they meant to surprise, an opportunity to fall upon the division posted on the mountain, and to cut off a great number of men.† Notwithstanding their superior numbers, the cities had no longer courage to make a strenuous attack on their brave and conquering enemy. They only hoped to weary him out by surrounding him with a winter encampment.

How totally were the daring schemes which Zwingli had cherished, overthrown! It is clear that the politico-religious principle of which he was

\* To those unacquainted with the habits of the German people, this expression requires explanation. They do not willingly eat wheaten bread, which they regard as much less nutritious than that made of rye. A peasant will tell you that it is impossible to work upon wheaten bread, there is no strength (kraft) in it. — TRANSL.

† “Das was ungar um die zwei nach Mitternacht Morgens Zinstag den, 24 Octobris.” “Maria die Mutter Gottes war dero Nacht ihr Kriegszeichen.” — “This was at about two hours after midnight on the morning of Tuesday the 24th October.” “Mary the mother of God was their watchword on that night.” Kurzer Bericht.

the representative and the champion, was, in fact, not so strong in Zürich as he had flattered himself, and that it was still weaker in Bern. It was not sufficiently powerful to pervade and to animate the existing elements of society. At the decisive moment, mistaken measures were adopted, the ground of which always was, want of that union and high-minded energy which alone could have insured success.

The fears which had been entertained by the catholic party at the beginning of these disturbances were now changed, by such unexpected successes, into the most sanguine hopes.

With undisguised joy and exultation Ferdinand sent his brother an account of the battle of Cappel and the death of the arch-heretic Zwingli. "This," says he, "is the first advantage which has been gained of late by the cause of the faith and of the church."

On the arrival of the news of the second successful engagement, he began to lay plans. He exhorted his brother to remember what favour God had shown to the defenders of his cause. Were the emperor not so near at hand, he himself, feeble and poor as he was, would hasten to assist in so sacred an enterprize. But now he could not refrain from exhorting him, the head of christendom, to do this; never could he have a fairer occasion for acquiring renown. Without Switzerland, the German sects would be easily subdued. He advised him to send succours openly or secretly to the catholic cantons. He goes so far as to tell

the emperor that this was the true way for him to put an end to religious discords, and to become master of Germany.\*

Nor was Charles V. in any degree indifferent to projects of this kind. He answered that the excellence of his brother's advice struck him the more, the more he reflected upon it; that the dignity with which he was invested, solicitude for the orthodox princes, the duty of defending the christian religion and the common weal, and considerations for the house of Austria, rendered it incumbent upon him to do something.

The Five Cantons had been joined in their camp on the Zug mountains by some companies of Italians. We discover from a letter that this took place with the knowledge of the emperor; he was of opinion that all future assistance must be given in the name of the pope.†

Nor did he stop here. He immediately sent to ask the king of France to give his support to the Five Cantons, and to declare war against those which had fallen off from the faith.

But he found little cordiality in Francis, who had seen with great displeasure the close alliance of the Five Cantons with Austria, and, with a view to maintain a counterpoise, had entered into negotiations with the other cantons shortly before

\* 1st Nov. *Vra. Magestad a la qual suplico quiera mirar lo que ymporta y usar de la ocasion y oportunidad del tiempo, pues es el mas a proposito que se pudo desear i camino para remediar las quiebras de nuestra fe y ser Vra. Md. señor de Alemanna y hazer una cosa la mas sennalada que in nuestros tempos se ha hecho.*

† Bruxelles, 2d Nov. 1531. Archives of Brussels.

this catastrophe. The king pleaded to the emperor's ambassadors all the sums he had had to pay in consequence of the engagements he had entered into at Cambray. What he had lately inherited from his mother, he wished to apply to the defence of his kingdom. The emperor, he continued with increasing bitterness and irritation, had tied his hands for every enterprize where any thing was to be gained; he was friendly only where nothing was to be got but blows and expences, — against the Turks and the Swiss.\*

Negotiations were likewise entered into with the Venetian ambassador in Milan. The bishop of Veroli, papal nuntio, prayed the republic for permission to send two thousand Spaniards through the Bergamese territory into Switzerland. The ambassador, Giovanni Basadonna, did not immediately consent to this; he wished to see the full powers of the nuntio, and observed to him that the Spaniards, if allowed to interfere in the intestine wars of the Confederation, might easily render themselves its masters. He induced Veroli to drop his request. The nuntio repaired in person to Switzerland, where he expressed the hope that it might be possible to induce the seceders to return to their ancient allegiance to the see of Rome.†

\* Lettre du roi à Mr. d'Auxerre, 21 Nov. MS Bethune 8477. Pour la guerre du Turc ou des Suisses, où il n'y a que coups et despenses d'argent.

† Relatio V. N. Joannis Basadone. Come el mi disse, andava cum proposito di rimover Lutherani dalla loro mala opinione con mezzo di alcuni suoi amici e cum danari. Archives of Venice.

It is evident that, had it depended on the emperor and his brother, the victory of the Five Cantons would have been immediately succeeded by a general attempt to establish catholicism in Switzerland.

Meanwhile, however, the Swiss themselves had begun to consider of the means of putting an end to their dissensions.

The army of the cities was by no means in a condition to remain under arms, in the mountains, when the bad season set in. As the Five Cantons prepared to attack them again, Zürich, and afterwards Bern, were obliged to accept the peace dictated to them.

It was exactly the reverse of the last internal peace. The cities were now obliged to give up the alliances they had concluded with foreign powers, and, in one form or another, to pay all the expenses of the war.

They were allowed the exercise of their religion. They had not fallen so low that their enemies could dare to assail this. They had suffered some reverses, and their attack had failed, but they were not subdued.

They were forced, however, to submit to a great diminution of their political and religious influence. The Five Cantons intended to chastise, not only the districts which immediately belonged to them — Rapperschwyl, Toggenburg, Gaster and Wesen,— but also those over which the cities had a joint control with them, such as the free bailiwicks in Aargau, Bremgarten, and Mellingen. In the other common bailiwicks, those who had



accepted the new creed were to be not indeed commanded, but permitted, to return to the "ancient and true christian faith." Expressions of this kind the cities were obliged to endure throughout the treaty.\*

No sooner had Bern accepted this peace, than the revival and re-establishment of catholicism began on all sides.

Immediately after the battle of Cappel, the catholic minority in Glarus bestirred itself, revoked the succours of the canton already determined on, and warned the subjects of the same not to furnish them; they did every thing in their power to favour the turn things had taken. Very shortly a certain number of churches were restored to them; and from that time they have exercised a far greater influence on the public business of the canton than the evangelical party, which was disheartened and enfeebled by the great losses sustained by their co-religionists. Schwytz, therefore, experienced no resistance when it overran Gaster and Wesen, abolished the old liberties, and restored the altars and images, and the mass. Glarus united with Schwytz, and Uri undertook to reinstate the abbot of St. Gall. His abbey was restored to him, and the city compelled to pay him a large sum as compensation. The people who cultivated the lands of the religious house were once more regarded as its subjects, and the abbot maintained that he was not bound by any stipulations in their favour in the

\* The copy of the treaty of peace in Hottinger's Appendix to vol ii. collated anew with the original.

treaty of peace; for that he was a free lord, and the protecting cantons could lay down no rule for his government. These tenants gradually all became catholic again. Fortunately for Toggenburg, at the very last moment, when it withdrew from the cities, it took better securities for its religious freedom, which, though greatly abridged, was not destroyed. The abbot placed the government of the country in the hands of those who had been driven out of it in the recent troubles.

Rapperschwyl was also reclaimed. At the news of the successes of their co-religionists, the catholics rose, and being reinforced by succours from Schwytz, were completely victorious. The leaders of the evangelical party were obliged to flee, or were put to death. There lived in the town a very skilful gunsmith, one Michael Wohlgemuth, of Cologne, who had the courage to defend himself after the fashion of old times: he barricaded his house, planted his matchlocks at the windows, and defended himself for some time with equal gallantry and success, till at length he was regularly besieged and taken prisoner. He was put to death with horrible tortures. Of the remainder, some submitted, some were thrown into prison, and some exiled. On the 19th of November mass was performed again.

In the Aargau, the Five Cantons used the rights of conquest with the utmost rigour. Wherever their banner appeared, the preachers retreated from the death with which they were threatened by the German, and still more by the French Swiss.

Bremgarten and Mellingen were forced expressly to engage to restore the ancient rites of the church. The aged Schultheiss Mütschli, who had hitherto governed Bremgarten, lay on his death-bed when the newly appointed catholic authorities sent to order him to quit Bremgarten. "Tell them that I shall not trouble them long," he replied. He died soon after, and lies buried at Oberwyl.

The treaty of peace did not leave Thurgau and the Rhine valley so much at the mercy of the Five Cantons; they were obliged to content themselves with restoring the convents, which recovered their old privileges.

In Solothurn, on the other hand, the catholics were completely triumphant. Nearly seventy protestant families were obliged to leave the city.

This second restoration of catholicism occurring in our history, was not so bloody as the first, which took place in Upper Germany after the peasants' war; but, like that, it was brought about by the casualties of war; like that, it was violent; and it was far more lasting.

The general relation of the two confessions, at that time established in the Alps, has endured down to the present time.

Even the evangelical cantons felt the influence of the restoration. The Constabel of Zürich regained their lost privileges. The people were obliged to acquiesce, so that catholicism was not again in activity. The great council was forced to make such promises to the country districts as greatly limited its authority.

The war had lasted only six weeks, but it had totally changed the prospects of Switzerland. Bullinger's Chronicle contains at the end a short comparison of what the reformers had projected, and what they had actually accomplished. They had desired the uniform introduction of the evangelical faith; the depression of the oligarchies; the abatement of the majority of the Five Cantons. The result was, that the new doctrine was extirpated from many places where it had been preached; that the papacy was re-instated in its authority; that the Five Cantons acquired such an ascendancy as they had never enjoyed before, and that the oligarchies had more power than ever.\* "Honour is overthrown, arbitrary power is established," says Bullinger. "The counsels of the Lord are marvellous."

\* Bullinger, iii. 353. The state of things is particularly described in an essay written by Leo Judæ in his own justification. "There are two great parties in Zürich, the one will protect God's word and help to secure all justice to it, the other will plant all dishonesty, and uproot the word of God, re-establish the papacy, and take foreign service and pensions again. It appears to the pious that the latter party have always more favour and encouragement than they."

## CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMATION IN THE CITIES OF LOWER GERMANY.  
CONCLUSION OF THE SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE.

THE spirit of reform had embodied itself in two parties of very different tendencies; the one, bold and comprehensive, both as to religious doctrines and political views; inclined to the absolute rejection of the traditional, and ready for attack: the other, conservative (as far as it was possible) even in matters of doctrine; and, on the field of politics, reluctantly brought to make a resolute defence.

The former of these had failed in its projects; it necessarily followed that the whole strength of the growing reformation now attached itself to the latter. The Schmalkaldic league was the more formidable to its enemies, because its rivals were no longer in a state to compete with it.

The cities of the Oberland had already made as near an approach as possible to the religious principle of the Schmalkaldic league; and, since their Swiss allies were compelled to dissolve the ties between them, they had politically no other support remaining than the strength of the united German States.

Their own danger was increased by the calamities of the Swiss. They knew the lively share which the court of Ferdinand had taken in the

affairs of the Confederation, and rumours were afloat of warlike preparations in Alsatia, the Breisgau and the Sundgau.

The Oberlanders now no longer hesitated to engage in a definitive consultation on a plan of warfare. This took place at a meeting at Nordhausen, in November, 1531.

But before we examine the organisation which the league then assumed, we must endeavour to understand distinctly what progress the cause of reform had in the mean time made in the cities of Lower Germany.

#### REFORMATION IN THE CITIES OF LOWER GERMANY.

The first city that joined the evangelical princes was, as we have seen, Magdeburg. Here, in a city which had pretensions to hold immediately of the empire, and had seen itself, with great disgust, turned over to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop;—here, where Luther had gone to school, and where his personal friends were still in possession of honours and employments, his ideas had easily captivated the whole body of the citizens. One day an old cloth-weaver was sitting under the statue of Otho the Great, singing a Lutheran hymn, and offering copies of it for sale. Just then the Bürgermeister Rubin, who had been at mass, came by, and ordered him to be arrested. This was sufficient to arouse the slumbering fire. The agitation spread from the audience collected about the old man, over the whole city. The citizens who, ever since the year

1330, had taken an important part in secular affairs, thought that they had a right to a no less active participation in spiritual. On the very same day, the 6th of May, 1524, the parish of St. Ulrich proceeded to exercise this right. They met in the churchyard, and determined to choose eight men out of their body, who for the future should manage the affairs of the church with their concurrence, and should choose preachers. Other parishes followed this example, and the council did not deem itself called upon to prevent them. Evangelical preachers were universally appointed by the side of catholic priests.

But a state of things like this could not last. The priests administered the mass according to the ancient ritual; the attacks of the preachers were mainly directed against the mass. There was no peace till either the priests went over to protestantism, as M. Scultetus did, or were silenced, or sent away. The parishes of St. John and St. Ulrich having opened a formal negotiation with the dean of Our Lady's Church, and he having refused to grant them such priests as they desired, they solemnly renounced his authority, "in order to take refuge with the sole eternal supreme priest, guardian of souls, bishop and pope, Jesus Christ; with him as their captain, would they do battle like true knights."\* On the 17th of July, 1524, the sacra-

\* Cause and Proceedings in the imperial, honourable, and Christian City of Magdeburg, pertaining to a Christian Walk and Conversation. By Wolff Cycloff, Doctor of Medicine, 1524. Printed in Hahn's *Collectio Monumentorum*, ii. 459.



ment of the Lord's supper was administered according to Luther's form, in all the churches of the old town. Hereupon the councillors and hundred-men assembled in their armour, and the citizens, according to the four quarters of the city, with matchlocks and halberds; they swore to stand truly and firmly by each other, if trouble should come upon the city on account of the abolition of the mass. They had no doubt, that the archbishop, Cardinal Albert, would resort to severe measures against them. They therefore hastened to cut a canal from the Elbe to the city ditches, in order, in case of need, to fill the latter with water; the walls were raised, the palisades strengthened with blocks; the workmen in the town, taken into their service for a small remuneration. They were resolved to defend with life and limb the spiritual independence they had asserted. But the time was not yet come when their resolution was to be put to the proof; for the present matters did not go to that extremity.\*

In Brunswick things took very nearly the same course, a few years later. The citizens read Luther's books, and translation of the Bible; above all, his hymns produced the strongest sensation; they were sung in every house, and the streets resounded with them. It had become customary here for the priests who held benefices to leave the business of preaching to young men whom they paid, and

\* Sebastian Langhans, at that time mill-bailiff, left a history of the year 1524, which it is very desirable to have printed. Up to that date, Rathmann's Extracts and Collections (iii. 346—400) are very useful.

who were called Heuerpfaffen (hire-priests). It is not surprising that these men generally espoused the new doctrines, and took part with the citizens. Examples occurred of their giving out from the pulpit, instead of the Latin hymn to the Virgin, one of the new German psalms, in which all the congregation joined with the greatest enthusiasm.

Indeed the people would no longer listen to sermons of any other tendency. Scholastic demonstrations were tumultuously interrupted, and incorrect quotations from Scripture loudly and eagerly corrected, by the congregation. The clergy sent for Dr. Sprengel, one of the most respected of the orthodox preachers of the neighbourhood, and already practised in the handling of controversial points; but he could make no impression. At the conclusion of his sermon a citizen called out, "Priest, thou liest," and set up the Lutheran hymn, "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein!" (O God, look down from heaven!), which the whole congregation sang with triumph.

The priests could at last devise no expedient, except to request the council to rid them of their heretical assistants. But the congregations only attached themselves the more firmly to the latter. The town and suburbs united nominated delegates, at the head of whom was Autor Sander, one of the leaders of the whole movement (he belonged to the literary class of innovators of whom we have formerly made mention); they now, on their side, petitioned the council to remove the priests.

At first, the council inclined to the existing order of things, but it was soon carried along by the popular movement. Reforms were at that time going on in various places, in consequence of the decree of the empire of 1526; among others, in the neighbouring state of Lüneburg; Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who would undoubtedly have opposed it, being occupied in his expedition into Italy. Under these circumstances, the council passed the resolution, on the 13th of March, 1528, that in future only the pure word of God should be preached; that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered in both kinds, and baptism be performed in the German language. Dr. Bugenhagen came from Wittenberg, in order to give a permanent form, of the kind prescribed by Luther, to the new order of things.\* The Duke of Lüneburg promised the city his protection.†

Things took the same course in most of the towns of this part of Germany. In all of them we see

\* The most minute account of these events is to be found in Rehtmeiers *Kirchen-historie der Stadt Braunschweig*, part iii., the original source of which is a cotemporaneous statement by Heinrich Lampe, preacher at St. Michael's church: "What happened in ecclesiastical affairs, shortly before and after the reception of the Holy Gospel here in Brunswick;" Gasmer's Funeral Sermon for Lampe (which is the basis of Lenz's "*Braunschweigs Kirchenreformation, 1828*"), is also chiefly taken from that statement.

† Duke Ernest mentions in a letter of the 2nd of February, 1531, a former compact with Brunswick, in which they mutually promised, "in matters relating to the divine word and whatever depends thereon, to risk life and property with each other." (W. A.)

preachers arise, the Lutheran hymns become popular, and the congregations take part in religious questions: the council at first makes a greater or less resistance, but at length gives way. In Goslar fifty men were appointed out of the several parishes, and carried the reforms through; there was a disturbance in Göttingen, because the overseers of the commune were at first hostile; in Eimbeck the council was compelled by the urgency of the commune, to recal the very preacher whom they had lately dismissed at the request of the canons.

Our readers will remember the violent commotions which broke out in all the cities between the years 1510—1516; even in those of Lower Germany. The question now arose, how far the religious impulse was mingled with this democratic agitation, and whether the predominant tendency would not be political.

We find a great difference among the cities in this respect.

There were some in which council and commune united in good time; and in these the municipal constitutions acquired greater strength than ever during the troubles. For not only did they get rid of the influence of foreign prelates, which had always been oppressive to them; but the administration of church affairs and church property that now devolved upon them, gave them a common interest which united them more closely. In Magdeburg ecclesiastical colleges\* were formed, consisting of members of the former council, and

\* See Rathmann, IV. ii. 28.

the newly elected superintendants of the communes; this gave additional strength to the democratic element which already somewhat predominated in the constitution of the city. The most remarkable town in this respect is undoubtedly Hamburg. Here, too, the reformers followed the advice of Luther, which Bugenhagen had carried out theoretically in books\* and practically by his own plans in Brunswick;—to establish in every parish, funds or chests (*Gotteskasten*), in order to meet the wants of the clergyman and the school, and to provide for the poor, out of the church property; and chose, as trustees of the same, twelve respectable citizens, some of whom had already filled the office of jurats of the church, and to whom twenty-four members of each parish were now attached. The same form was adopted in most other towns; what distinguishes Hamburg is, that it served as the basis of a new political constitution. The parish superintendants composed the college of the Forty-eight, and, together with their assistants, that of the Hundred and Forty-four; two colleges which may be regarded as a true representation of the hereditary class of citizens (*Bürgerschaft*). Besides this, a fifth and principal chest was established, in which the whole property of the church was to be united†, and the administration

\* In the Appendix to the treatise, *Vom rechten Glauben* (Of the true Faith), which Bugenhagen published, both in high and low German, in 1526, and dedicated to the bürgermeister, councillors and the whole community of the honourable city of Hamburg.

† “Nichtesdeweyniger schollen de veer Kisten in den Car-

of it was entrusted to the three chief elders of the parish overseers. This took place with the full consent of the worshipful the council on Michaelmas-day, 1528. It is evident that this college contained the germs of a most important institution, for the improvement and prosperity of the city, and we know how completely it has fulfilled its destination. After a lapse of three centuries, the day of its establishment has just been commemorated with civic festivities.\*

In Rostock also the council and the citizens formed the closest union in opposition to the Mecklenburg princes, who in the year 1531 sided for a moment with the catholic clergy.†

But things were not everywhere thus peacefully settled. In Bremen, where the churches had

spelkarken, wo se nu stahn, tho Versamelinge de Almiszen blyven, so doch, dathme allendt wes bether tho darinn gegeben, und hyrnams tho allen Tyden darinn gegeben werden mag, alles getrouwlik in und by de Hövetkysten presentere und averantwehrde."—"Nevertheless the four chests in the parish church, where they now stand, shall remain for the collection of the alms; so that all which may heretofore have been given therein, or may hereafter be therein given, through all times, may be truly presented and answered for to the principal [head] chest."—Original form of the Foundation of the Overalten (Over-elders), Michaelmas day, 1528.

\* Lappenberg; Programme of the third secular commemoration of the municipal constitution of Hamburg, on the 29th of September, 1528; wherein the matter which Bürgermeister Bartels and the Præses of the Oberalten (Over-elders), Rücker, treated in a popular manner in their speeches, is learnedly and instructively developed.

† Rudlof N. Gesch. Mecklenburgs, i. 81.

fallen into the hands of the Lutheran preachers, as early as the year 1525, and, in 1527, the two convents of the city had been converted, the one into a school and the other into an hospital, so violent a hatred of the clergy had arisen among the citizens during the incessant quarrels in which they had been involved with the priests attached to the cathedral, that they were not satisfied with having stripped them of all spiritual influence in the city. They laid claim to a number of fields, gardens and enclosed lands, which, they said, the cathedral had unjustly wrested from the town; and as the council did not uphold them in these claims, they chose a democratic body of a hundred and four members, who not only endeavoured to carry through all these measures, but radically to alter the constitution of the city; they overthrew the whole groundwork, and rejected all the documents and charters upon which it rested; proceeded with the greatest violence, and at length were only put down by force of arms.\*

The movement in Lübek was still more important.

Here the patrician families had formed a close union with the clergy; the chapter, council, gentry and great merchants constituted one party.† On the other hand, the desire for religious reforms

\* Roller, Geschichte von Bremen, ii. p. 380. u. f.

† The priesthood was become very numerous, especially by the institution of vicars. In the middle of the 15th century there were in Lübek and the neighbouring churches 169 vicars. They were most of them relations of those who had



was here as rife among the citizens as in other places, but it was repressed with unrelenting zeal; families were punished only because the servants had sung a German psalm. Luther's commentary on the scriptures was burned in the market-place.

Unfortunately for the ruling classes, they had suffered the finances of the city to fall into disorder, and found themselves compelled to assemble the citizens, and to call upon them for extraordinary supplies.

The citizens consented. They nominated a committee (A.D. 1529), which gradually increased to the number of sixty-four, in order to deliberate with the council on this grant; but they immediately seized the opportunity to claim, not only more political power, but religious emancipation. They demanded that the committee should have a share in regulating the revenue and expenditure of the town, and that freedom of preaching should be granted them. The public voice was very soon raised in their favour. The people demanded the restitution of the preachers who had been expelled a few years before; here, too, the officiating priest was interrupted by the psalm, "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein!" Satirical songs were sung against Johann Rode, the rector of Our Lady's Church, charging him with having maintained that Christ had redeemed only our forefathers, and that their

founded masses for the dead. See Grautoff, *Schriften*, i. 266. The disposition of the capital lay in the hands of provisors.

posterity must seek salvation from him. "They who should feed us, are they who mislead us," (*Die uns sollen weiden, das sind die uns verleiten,*) says one of these songs.\* In one great meeting of citizens, those who wished to remain catholic were asked to stand aside, when only one complied.

Overpowered by such manifestations, and deprived by its financial difficulties of all substantial power, the council was compelled step by step to give way.

In Dec. 1529, it recalled the expelled preachers; in April, 1530, it removed the catholics from every pulpit in the city; in the June of the same year, it found itself compelled to give notice to the churches and convents to discontinue their established usages. At the very same time that Charles V. was attempting to re-establish the ancient faith in Augsburg, it was utterly extirpated in one of the most considerable cities of the North. This did not pass unobserved at Augsburg. The emperor commanded the Sixty-four in the most earnest manner by a penal mandate, "to desist from what they were about;" and told the council, in case this was not complied with, to apply to some of the neighbouring princes for assistance. It may easily be imagined what effect these menaces of a distant power were likely to produce in the fermenting city. The agitation redoubled, and increased so violently that the council was under the necessity of requesting the

\* The song in Regkmann's Chronicle, p. 133.

Sixty-four to retain their functions, and even of approving their making a fresh addition of a hundred citizens to their body.\* Doctor John Bugenhagen was also invited to Lübek to organise a new church, with a commission chosen from the council and citizens.† The convents were converted into schools and hospitals; the nuns of St. John's were suffered to remain, on condition of their instructing children; in all parish churches, pastors and chaplains attached to the confession of Augsburg were appointed, under a superintendent, Hermannus Bonnus.

It followed of course that the Sixty-four, whose origin was of a politico-religious nature, were not satisfied with the concessions made by the church; the council was obliged to promise to account to them for the public expenditure, to make no treaty or engagement without their consent, to allow them a joint superintendence in military affairs; in short, to share all their most important functions with them.‡ The council, accustomed to nearly unlimited

\* In the answer of the citizens, in Regkmann, 139, it is said that this was proposed by the council, "um vieler Unge- stümheit willen, Müh' und Verdriess zuvorkommen," — "in order to prevent much disorder, trouble, and annoyance."

† Notices in Grautoff, ii. 159. The influence which is ascribed in that work to a more moderate party in the council, stands however in need of further proof.

‡ The articles of the commune made, agreed on, and confirmed on the 13th of October, 1530. Becker, Lüb. Gesch. iii. 27., says, not all the demands of the commune were granted; and he then adduces only those expressly mentioned

sway, reluctantly consented. There was, it is true, a public reconciliation between the bürgermeisters and the president of the Sixty-four; but solemn acts of this kind have never served to eradicate a rooted aversion: a few weeks after, Claus Brömse and Hermann Plönnies, the two bürgermeisters, found the impotency to which they were reduced, and the mistrust of which they were the objects, so intolerable, that they quitted the city. This was at Easter, 1531. No sooner was the departure of the bürgermeisters known among the citizens, than a storm of anger arose. The people imputed to them, and to the whole council, an understanding with the neighbouring princes, and expected that the city would be attacked. First the Sixty-four, then the Hundred, and lastly all the members of the commune were called together; the gates were closed; the members of the council were arrested, either in their own houses or in the town-house; till at length the council, subdued, shackled, tormented, and deprived of its chiefs, determined to give up the great seal of the city to the Sixty-four. The commune did not go so far as to depose them; never would the Lutheran preachers have approved that. But, as they sought out a document to prove that the council might consist of a greater number of members than actually held seats in it, and immediately proceeded to appoint the number deficient; — as they nominated two new bürgermeis-

in the journal in Kirchring and Müller, p. 166. Is it possible that the title of the articles can be so wrong?

ters instead of those who had left the town; they did in fact entirely transform the council, and impart to the victorious opinions a preponderant influence over all its decisions. The preachers consented to this with great reluctance; for their idea of the exalted nature and dignity of the civil authority extended to the city councillors; and at every change they earnestly warned the people from the pulpit not to transgress against authority.\*

Duke Ernest of Lüneburg was extremely rejoiced, on his return from Augsburg, to see around him how little people cared for the favour or disfavour of the emperor; on the contrary, how much more prosperous was the evangelical cause in these cities now than heretofore.† The emperor had just admonished the city of Lüneburg in a private letter, to remain constant to the old faith; the only result of which was, that the city prayed the duke to leave Urbanus Rhegius, the reformer, whom he had brought home with him from Augsburg, for a

\* In the Chronicle of Hermannus Bonnus it is said that there is no better means of maintaining a stable government than to leave the choice of the council in the hands of the authorities.

† Ernest to Elector John, Zelle, Monday, 17th of October. "Befinde, das wynzig Gottlob in diesen umliegenden Städten kais. Maj. Gnaden oder Ungnaden gescheuet; denn sye itzunder heftiger, als vor nie, in allen Städten predigen und das Wort Gottes fürdern."—"I find that, thank God, his imperial majesty's favour or disfavour is very little cared for in the cities hereabout; for they now preach in all cities more vehemently than ever before, and promote the word of God." (W. A.)

time with them, for the purpose of organising their church\*, which he gradually accomplished.

So powerfully did the spirit of the reformation diffuse itself through Lower Germany. Already it had taken possession of a portion of the principalities; it was triumphant in the Wendish cities; it had penetrated into Westphalia, as we shall see hereafter; it seemed about to pervade the whole character and condition of North Germany.

But it was easy to foresee that, before this could come to pass, it would have to encounter many a storm.

Very violent political tendencies mingled themselves with the attempt to reform the church; and it was a question how far the former could be guided in the channel of established institutions, or how far they would assume a revolutionary character.

With these were also connected changes of religious opinion, which did not always remain within the pale of the Lutheran system, and the future direction of which it was impossible to foresee.

We shall examine more closely these changes, which are extremely important: there came a time when the popular mind, violently excited, rushed into wild and pathless regions.

At present, however, these symptoms had not betrayed themselves.

At present, the only remarkable fact was, the

\* Letter above: "haben heud der Rath und die Gemeyne mir semplich geschrieben."—"The council and the commonalty have all written to me to-day.

support which protestantism, in its peaceful progress, experienced from its new extension, at the very moment when it was most violently menaced by the emperor. This support was peculiarly advantageous to the Schmalkaldic league, to which we must now turn our attention.

#### CONCLUSION OF THE SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE.

The Magdeburgers were included in the earlier protestant associations. In the year 1531, being urged by their archbishop to conform to the Recess of Augsburg, they looked to the elector of Saxony as their sole refuge, and implored him "to protect them in their adherence to the eternal word of God." They delayed not an instant to join the league.\*

Bremen, uninvited, asked the Duke of Lüneburg for the first draft of the convention; and declared itself ready to send a representative to the meeting, and to contribute its share of aid.†

With Lübek, on the other hand, the duke had to open negotiations. This was at a time when

\* Magdeburg, Saturday after Estomihi, 1531. "It happened that our most gracious lord cardinal's steward appeared on Ash Wednesday before us, the whole council sitting, and delivered a missive from our above-mentioned gracious Lord; and thereupon set forth that he had a printed copy, which he would also deliver to us; and as he had before signified to our bürgermeister and council, that, in the said printed copy, the Recess held at Augsburg, and the order that they should hold to the old usages, were inserted, we would not receive it."

† Letter of Duke Ernest, Tuesday after St. Clement.



the council still retained some power; and, as its sympathies were quite in an opposite direction, it naturally hesitated. But the Hundred and Sixty-four were easily won over. On their motion, a delegate of the city appeared at the second congress at Schmalkalden, in March, 1531. He desired first to be informed, what support the princes could afford the city against the ejected king of Denmark, if the emperor should attempt to restore him; and pleaded the necessity of not exacting too much assistance from the citizens. But even this reservation was dropped when the great change which we have described took place in Lübek. Although the delegate received very unsatisfactory answers to his questions, Lübek immediately after acceded to the treaty. We find these three cities mentioned in the first sealed formula of the league.

At the following meeting in June, they were joined by Göttingen and Brunswick. Brunswick thought that it belonged sufficiently to the league, through its connexion with the duke of Lüneburg\*; but the allies were of opinion that they should have stronger grounds for sending assistance to the city in case of need, if it was a direct party to the convention. An envoy from the markgrave at last removed all its scruples.

\* Letter of the city to Ernest of Lüneburg, 22d March, 1531. "Since we have settled with your princely grace concerning our natural relation as subjects, and have included therein our separate treaties with regard to the Christian matters undertaken in God's name."

Shortly after Goslar and Eimbeck followed.

So rapidly did the compact of the princes extend over both parts of Germany. It now included seven cities of Upper, and seven of Lower Germany.

It was impossible longer to delay giving a constitution to such a union. We know how urgently this was demanded by events in Switzerland, and the Oberländer were now fully prepared for it.\*

A preliminary discussion was held in November, 1531, at Nordhausen, and a definitive one at Frankfurt-am-Main in December.

The first question was as to the supreme command of the league.

It was an arrangement prompted as much by the nature of things as by habit and tradition, that they should nominate a single head of the league, who should also command them in war. Saxony wished that one of the two Welfs, either the Lüneburger or the Grubenhagener, should be chosen. There was a general wish to avoid the landgrave, who was accounted too rash and too intimately connected with the Swiss.

But this was not practicable. The landgrave was far too powerful and warlike to suffer himself to be excluded from the command of the league;

\* Melanchthon to Camerarius, 30th December. "*Scis ejus periculi partem ad nos pertinere.*" A letter from Ulm (Saturday after St. Simon and St. Jude) announces that the greatest joy prevailed at Ferdinand's court; in the Sundgau, Breisgau, and Alsatia, the people had been warned to hold themselves ready for war; in the lands of the Abbot of Kempten they had been ordered when attacked to take up arms instantly and assemble.

and, since the defeat of the Swiss, nothing more was to be feared from his leaning to their side.

But as the elector of Saxony also did not choose to be thrown into the shade by the landgrave, it was agreed at the meeting at Nordhausen to elect two commanders, and that these two princes should be the men. Each of them was to bring up one half of the troops, and they were alternately to conduct the affairs of the whole body; if the war was to be carried on in Saxony and Westphalia, the elector to have the command; if in Hessen and Germany, the landgrave.

But it is not to be imagined that full powers were given to these two chiefs to act at their good pleasure: the question was discussed with equal earnestness, how the deliberations were to be held, and the votes divided; and what relation these should bear to the contributions.

The first proposal on the side of the princes was to create five votes; two for Saxony and Hessen, two for the cities, and the remaining one for the other princes and counts conjointly. The ordinary contingents, reckoned at two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, were taxed at seventy thousand gulden a month; of which the princes were to pay thirty thousand, and the cities forty.

The objection to this plan is obvious at the first glance. The greater half of the votes, and the lesser of the contributions, were allotted to the princes. The cities did not neglect to propose a different scheme, in which perfect equality was

observed. Each party was to contribute thirty-five thousand gulden, and each to have four votes.

How was it to be, however, if these votes were equally divided on any question? an inconvenience carefully avoided in all deliberative bodies. The cities proposed to give a casting vote to the electoral prince of Saxony, who would otherwise have no voice. But to this the landgrave would by no means consent. He replied, that he wished his friend and brother all the prosperity in the world; he should be glad to see John Frederic Roman king and emperor; but that, in this affair, they must maintain perfect equality, according to the original agreement.

They therefore reverted to a project very similar to the first. Nine votes were created, of which four were divided between Saxony and Hessen, and four among the four cities; the ninth was to be held in common by the remaining princes and lords. The only advantage the cities gained was, that the contributions were more equally divided. Of these four votes, the Oberland towns had two, and the Lower Saxon the other two; and they took an equal share of the contributions upon themselves. Of the two Lower Saxon votes, Magdeburg and Bremen had the one, Lübek and the remaining towns the other.

In this manner were the affairs of the league arranged, as soon as it was concluded. The constitution is merely the expression of the fact, and of the relations of the parties; of the former,

inasmuch as those on whose coalition all depended were now its recognised chiefs ; of the latter, inasmuch as the legal influence on its resolutions was determined by the relative force and the contributions of the members.

After all that has been laid before the reader, it is unnecessary to observe, that the principle of reform, at once conservative and defensive, such as Luther conceived it, was here most perfectly and eminently represented ; but if I am not mistaken, it may be added, that this league, by thus combining the two great provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, which had hitherto always been separated, was of the highest value to the unity of development of the German mind. There was now another centre besides the diets ; there was a unity not imposed by the command of the sovereign power, but arising spontaneously from the force of circumstances, and combining a political and military, with an intellectual character. Luther was the great author, who, intelligible to both parties, found access to both, and pre-eminently contributed to the foundation of a uniform national culture. It was a union which extended to the uttermost boundaries of Germany on either side. Not only the neighbouring Magdeburg and central Strasburg, but *bürgermeisters* and town councillors from Riga sought aid and protection of the elector of Saxony, on whom, under God, all their hopes were fixed. They came in the name of the evangelical party in Dorpat and Reval, praying to be defended against the attempts of their archbishop, who

threatened them with the execution of the Recess of Augsburg.\*

The league had likewise a great political import. All who had any thing to fear from Austria, or any thing to complain of in her past conduct, rallied round it;—the duke of Gueldres and Juliers, from whom Ravenstein had been taken; the king of Denmark, who was in daily dread of a fresh attack of Christiern II., aided by Austria; and lastly, an election opposition headed by Bavaria. In February, 1531, we find the Bavarian councillor, Weichselfelder, in Torgau†; in August, Leonhard Eck visited landgrave Philip at Giessen; in October, a congress of all the States hostile to Ferdinand was held at Saalfeld. Here they mutually promised “by their true words as electors, princes and counts‡, on their honour, truth and faith, not to consent to the election, and, above all, to the administration, of Ferdinand; and in case they were attacked for the same, to support each other.” Some months afterwards the form of these mutual succours was agreed on.§

It is curious to see in what light these things ap-

\* Letter of the Council, Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and also that of the Syndic Lehn Müller, the Wednesday after the 29th March, and 5th April, 1531. (W. A.)

† The Bavarian councillors were expected at the second congress at Schmalkalden, as a letter from Philip to Dr. Leonh. Eck (undated, but without doubt of the 31st January) shows.

‡ Neudeckers Urkunden, p. 60. The counts of Mansfeld are those alluded to.

§ May, 1532. Original document in Stumpf, No. v. p. 20.



peared at a distance ; how, for example, Henry VIII. expressed himself concerning them in a conversation with the Danish ambassador, Peter Schwaben. The emperor, Henry thought, ought to have yielded at Augsburg, on the few points on which they could not agree,—but Campeggi probably hindered him. “The emperor is foolish,” said he ; “he understands nothing of Latin. They should have taken me and the king of France as umpires ; we would have summoned the most learned men in all Europe, and would soon have decided the affair.” He then proceeded to speak of the election. “Why do not the princes,” said he, “choose another king ?—the duke of Bavaria, for example, who would be quite a fit man. They must not allow the emperor to deceive them as he has deceived the pope.” “Sir,” added he, as if alarmed at his own frankness, “nobody must know that I have said this. I am an ally of the emperor. In fact,” continued he after a pause, “it would be a disgrace to the emperor if he were forced to leave Germany without putting an end to these troubles. I see the time is come when either the emperor must make himself renowned, or the elector of Saxony.”

Thus, then, things were come to such a pass, that a sagacious neighbouring sovereign could compare the elector’s chance of renown and universal consideration with those of the emperor.

We must not, however, take this for more than it is worth ; we are well aware that the king flattered his own secret hostility to the emperor with thoughts of this kind.



But so much is clear notwithstanding;—that the federative position which the aged elector acquired now, at the close of his life, was a very high and significant one.

If the aggressive tendencies of the reformation in Switzerland had been crushed in the attempt to break down the influences opposed to it, a similar calamity was not to be feared for the league, whose attitude was purely defensive. Even if the emperor had taken advantage of the Swiss reverses and begun a great war, he would not have found it so easy, as perhaps Ferdinand thought, to suppress protestantism, and to make himself absolute master of Germany.

Moreover, circumstances had occurred which rendered this utterly impossible.

## CHAPTER VI.

OTTOMAN INVASION. FIRST PEACE OF RELIGION.  
1531, 1532.

DESTINY (if we may be allowed to use the word) had for a time left the emperor at liberty to put an end to these religious troubles in one way or another. For two years he had been at peace.

But this period presents a singular spectacle. We behold those who threaten war and destruction separate, and each betake himself to his own affairs; while, on the contrary, those who are threatened adhere with unshaken pertinacity to their designs, and succeed in founding an effective politico-religious coalition. The check which reform had sustained in Switzerland was advantageous to its consolidation in Germany.

It always happens, and especially under circumstances like those of Germany, that the obvious necessity for common defence is a far better bond of union than the most elaborate plan of attack.

The emperor did not neglect to urge the electors to more vigorous measures. Immediately after Ferdinand's election, they formed a league for the defence of it against all attacks whatsoever. In the spring of 1531, the emperor proposed to connect with this a more extensive coalition, for the purpose of preventing all attempts of the

seccders injurious to the true faith.\* To this, however, the electors did not accede; they thought that sufficient security was afforded by the rules and recesses of the empire. We know that there were other points on which the States of the empire did not perfectly agree with the emperor; the diplomatic correspondence of the time shows that demonstrations and professions of friendship were traversed in every direction by under-currents of secret animosity.

Moreover, every attempt to reduce the protestants was rendered impossible by the danger which incessantly hung over Europe from the East.

At length its most formidable foe once more arose in his might. His recent attack on Vienna had rather irritated than intimidated him.

We have now to contemplate, not only the warlike preparations of the Ottomans, but their effect on Germany. If even the dread of war was favourable to the protestants, we may expect to find that its actual outbreak was much more so.

\* Original document in the Berlin Archives under the title : "Keyser Carls Bedenken, wie die Election eines römischen Königes zu Cölln geschehen und auf König Ferdinand gericht, wider den Churfürften von Sachsen und Andre so dieselbe gestritten, moge gehandhabt werden."—"Emperor Charles's Reflexions how the Election of a King of the Romans which took place at Cologne, and fell upon King Ferdinand, is to be maintained against the Elector of Saxony and others, who have contested it." There is in Brussels an extract from the elector's answer in the French language, in which the emperor's offer is described in the words : *Offrant derechef avec le roy son frere d'accomplir et fournir à une notable et durable entreprise.*

## OTTOMAN INVASION.

In the year 1530, both Ferdinand and the emperor entertained the idea of terminating the affair of Hungary by a treaty with the sublime Porte. As John Zapolya boasted that he paid no tribute, the court of Vienna hoped that the sultan might be gained over by the offer of a sum of money; and even flattered itself that it might be possible to recover the whole of Hungary, such as King Wladislaus had possessed it. In this spirit were the proposals conceived which Ferdinand sent to Constantinople, in May, 1530.\*

In fact, he hoped nothing more from the war with the woiwode. A fresh attempt on Ofen had failed. The Hungarians of both parties were evidently weary of internal discord; they had even a project of proceeding to elect a third king, whom all might acknowledge. Ferdinand therefore consented to a truce with Zapolya. His hopes were turned towards Constantinople—hopes which were destined to be entirely crushed.

It was well known in Constantinople that a general enterprise against the Turks was incessantly talked of in Germany, Italy and Spain; that the pope and the empire had granted money for it, and that the emperor hoped to render his name glorious by such a campaign. But it was also known that the money, though granted, was either not forth-

\* Instructions to Lamberg and Jurischitz; Gevay, Urkunden und Actenstücke, Heft i.

coming, or could not be applied to its destination; that Christendom, spite of all treaties of peace, was full of open or secret divisions; and the threat of uniting its forces against the Ottomans was treated with derision. "The King of Spain," it was said, "has encircled his brow with the diadem of the empire; but what then? is he better obeyed? He is emperor, who extends his dominion with the sword." When the envoys appeared with the proposals above-mentioned, the grand wezir Ibrahim changed colour, and dissuaded them from even submitting such to the sultan\*: for Hungary belonged not to the Janusch Kral (as he called the king-woiwode), but to the sultan, who therefore took no tribute from that country, but, on the contrary, gave succours to his servant and lieutenant who governed it. The sultan had twice conquered Hungary with the sword, with his own sweat and blood, and that of his warriors, and it belonged to him of right. Indeed even Vienna, and all that Ferdinand possessed in Germany, belonged to him, since he had invaded those countries in person, and had hunted there. Charles V. threatened to attack the Turks; he should not need to go far, they were making ready to advance to meet him. "I am the sultan," said the letter which Suleiman gave to the ambassador, "the great emperor, the highest and most excellent; I have reduced the Greek crown to subjection, the White and the Black Sea;

\* Report of the envoys and the letters of Suleiman and Ibrahim: *Gevay, Urkunden und Actenstücke*, Heft i.

—with God's help and my own labours, after the fashion of my father and grandfather, with my own person and my sword, have I conquered for myself the kingdom and the king of Hungary." He replied to the Austrian proposition with the demand,—made far more in earnest—that Ferdinand would surrender all the fortresses which he still possessed in a part of Hungary.\*

Suleiman lived only in the thought of making Constantinople once more the capital of the world; he called Charles V. merely king of Spain; he claimed the exclusive title of emperor (which the East called Caliph of Rum), and was determined to restore it to its full significancy.

We see from a letter of Ferdinand's of the 17th March, 1531, what a powerful impression the insolent answer brought by his ambassadors made upon him. He represents to his brother how contrary it is to all reason and honour to suffer a kingdom like Hungary, so great and noble and fertile, and so many innocent souls, all created in the image of the living God, to fall into the hands of the Turkish tyrant. It was also to be considered that this would lay open all Europe to him. The sultan would take possession on the one side of Bohemia and Moravia, on the other, of Inner Austria and Istria: from Signa he would not have far to go to the March of Ancona and Naples.†

\* From Suleiman's letter, *Gevay, Urkunden und Actenstücke*, Heft i. p. 91. Pity that this is rather an extract, as well as No. vii., than a translation.

† *Gevay*; i. 99. The same opinion appears again in the second part, but somewhat altered.

In a succeeding letter he conjures the emperor not to defer the preparations for resistance, because the advance of the Ottomans was still doubtful; "For the danger is great," says he, "the time short, and my force insignificant or null." \*

When it was seen that the sultan's projects were serious; that he really contemplated, either immediately or after a short delay, marching on the German frontier, this prospect naturally dictated the policy of the two brothers.

It was a moment like that in the beginning of the tenth century, when the Hungarians first possessed themselves of their settlement, and pushed on from thence westward, plundering and laying waste by the way. The West had indeed made enormous progress, and had far better means of defence than it then possessed; but the enemy was also incomparably more powerful and more dangerous.

On considering how he was to be encountered, it became obvious that the greatest obstacle to an efficient defence was the divided state of Germany. "The succours of the empire," said Ferdinand in his first letter, "will come up very slowly. You must hold it for certain, that Luther's adherents, even if they are convinced of the necessity for their aid

\* 27th March. Vra. Magestad si es razon ni cordura, de estar assi desapercebidos y desunidos, alla defensa necesaria debaxo desta sombra de operation dudosa, cerca de lo qual suplico a V. Md. quiera mirar y tener proveydo lo que convenga porque el peligro es muy grande y el tiempo breve, y mi pusanza muy poca o ninguna. (Br. A.)



and inclined to grant it, will yet withhold it, because they fear that if the Turks are conquered, and the peace with France, England and Italy continues, our arms will be turned against them; they think that the victorious soldiery will not be satisfied with the blood they have shed, but will seek out more to slake their thirst."

We have already seen how great an influence Ferdinand's counsels had on Charles V. They were, indeed, always well-timed and judicious, and bear the stamp of resolution and promptitude. Ferdinand now had no hesitation in advising his brother to come to a peaceful arrangement with the protestants, in so far as that was possible, without prejudice to the essential points of the catholic faith. He said that their zeal must be allowed to consume itself, for the more water was thrown on it, the fiercer it burned. They must be conciliated at a diet. They would willingly grant aid against the Turks, as soon as they saw themselves secure in all that related to "their vain superstitions."\*

As early as February, 1531, an attempt was made by the emperor, as was always the case in Germany as soon as any division assumed the appearance of danger, through the intervention of the Palatinate and Mainz, to bring about a reconciliation; but as the protestants demanded, as a pre-

\* Assentandose esto avria mas disposition y menos ympedimento para resistir al Turco assi in los principes como en las otras personas; a lo qual ajudaran de mejor gana, estando assecurados dello que toca a sus vanas creencias. (Prima 27 Marzo.)

liminary to all negotiations, that the proceedings of the Imperial Chamber should at least be stayed for a time, nothing came of it. The emperor declared that it would be difficult for him to undo any thing that had been determined by the Estates of the empire.\*

But Ferdinand now urgently pressed for this concession. On the 27th April, he sent the emperor an opinion of the council of war on the plan of defence against the Turks. Meanwhile, in order to avert the danger arising from the coalitions and practices of the Lutherans, he advised his brother no longer to resist their demands.

The emperor therefore, in convoking a diet at Regensburg, directed his fiscal "to suspend the proceedings, which he had been authorized by the Recess of Augsburg to set on foot in religious matters, till the approaching diet."† This rendered negotiation at least possible, and afforded a prospect of uniting the strength of the empire to meet any pressing emergency.

This prospect was however as yet very remote.

King Ferdinand, the author of these concilia-

\* Instructions how we two, Ludwig, Count Stolberg, and Wolf von Affenstein, knight, are to treat with his Imperial Majesty: Tuesday after Estomihi (23d February). Likewise: Summary note of what we have negotiated with his Imperial Majesty. (W. A.)

† "For excellent and sincere reasons we commend thee earnestly, that thou wilt completely stay such proceedings on account of religion, as thou hast in hand, in virtue of our Recess of Augsburg, between now and the next coming diet." Copy of a letter of the Elector of Mainz, 25th July.

tory measures, would sometimes have preferred to come to an agreement with the Turks, even under the most unfavourable conditions. In the days in which the events in Switzerland had awakened all his zeal and ambition against the innovators, he determined to make immense concessions with regard to Hungary. In the instructions of the 5th November 1531, he desired his ambassadors, whom he sent to Constantinople, to begin by refusing to cede any part of his Hungarian dominions; but, in case the sultan should absolutely decline to treat on those terms, they were then to listen to his demands. They were to try at least to keep possession of the castles nearest to the German frontier, or to negotiate their surrender for the sum the woiwode had formerly offered. But if this also could not be obtained, if the sultan should be inflexible, and insist on a free surrender of all the castles to the woiwode, they should have full powers to consent even to that; only with the reservation, that both these castles and the whole kingdom of Hungary should revert to Ferdinand at the death of the woiwode. So great were the concessions Ferdinand was prepared to make.\* For so remote a contingency as the death of his

\* *Instructio de iis quæ* — Leonardus Comes de Nogarolis et Josephus a Lamberg — apud *ser<sup>mum</sup>* Turcarum imperatorem nomine nostro agere debent, Gevay, ii. (1531.) Sicubi vero de hac quoque conditione fuerit desperatum, videlicet quod Turcus gratuito et sine pecunia castra illa omnia Waywodæ reddi voluerit, tum demum sic fortuna volente fiat per eosdem oratores nostros de iis omnibus promissio.

rival, he was willing to surrender all that yet belonged to him in Hungary. So high was the price he set upon peace with Turkey. He wished his brother and the pope to be included in the truce. If his brother broke it, it should be the same as if he broke it himself. And indeed Charles V. exhorted him to leave nothing untried, in order to conclude a treaty with the Turks.

But these offers were already vain. Before an ambassador had reached the Turkish frontier, news arrived of the vast warlike preparations of the sultan by land and by sea. On the 26th April, 1532, Suleiman set out on the campaign that was to decide the struggle with his mightiest foe, the emperor Charles, in whose person, as far as it was possible, the power of the West was represented.\*

A Venetian chronicle has left us a description of this expedition, which reminds us of the pomp of the earliest eastern monarchs.† The march was opened by one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery; then came eight thousand janissaries, overjoyed at being led against the Germans, and followed by troops of camels loaded with an enormous quantity of baggage. After them came the Sipahis of the Porte, two thousand horse; to whom was entrusted the holy standard, the Eagle of the

\* Avviso venuto di Ragusi di un nuovo esercito messo da Solimano per ritornar una secunda volta alla città di Vienna l'anno nuovo 1532, in der Chronica Ven., which Guazzo uses, but with great freedom.

† Marchiando con gran solazzo verso Vienna.

Prophet, gorgeously adorned with gems and pearls, which had already waved at the conquest of Rhodes. To this were attached the young boys who were exhibited as the tribute from subject christians and were educated at the Porte; dressed in cloth of gold, with long locks like women, red hats with white plumes on their heads, and lances of exquisite Damascus workmanship in their hands. Behind them was borne the sultan's crown, which had shortly before been brought to Constantinople by a Sanuto from St. Canziano at Venice, at the cost of 120,000 ducats. Then followed the immediate retinue of the sultan,—a thousand men of gigantic stature, and of the greatest personal beauty that it was possible to find; some leading hounds in a leash, others holding hawks on their fist, all armed with bows and arrows. In the midst of them rode Suleiman, in a garment of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, a snow-white turban decorated with precious stones, dagger and sabre at his side, and mounted on a chestnut horse. He was followed by the four wesirs, the most remarkable of whom was Ibrahim, who bore the title of chief counsellor of the sultan, vicegerent of the whole empire of the same, and of all his slaves and barons; after them came the remaining lords of the court, with their attendants. The whole wore an appearance of discipline and obedience, and moved onwards without the slightest tumult or disorder.

Such was the pomp and majesty with which the Sublime Porte rose up and advanced to take pos-

session of the empire of the world. From all sides the armed bands of its subjects hastened to join its standard. The army which crossed the frontier of Hungary in June was reckoned at two hundred and fifty thousand men.

Such was the camp in which Ferdinand's ambassadors at length arrived. But what negotiations were likely to have power to stem this torrent?

I do not find that the envoys adhered very strictly to their instructions. They proceeded, however, so far as to promise both the sultan and the wesir a yearly tribute for that part of Hungary which was still in Ferdinand's hands. On the wesir this made some impression; but the sultan utterly rejected it. "For who would assure him," he said, "that while he was at peace with Ferdinand, his brother, the king of Spain, would not attack him? But he would seek out that monarch who, for three years past, had boasted of achieving great things. If the king of Spain has the courage," added he, "let him await me in the field. With God's grace, I shall come up with him, and then let God's will decide between us."

The ambassadors were asked how long it took to reach Regensburg; they answered that, by the shortest way, a man must ride for a month. This long march the Ottomans seemed resolved to undertake.

And in Regensburg the States of the empire were just assembled to hold the long-deferred diet; on the 17th April, the proceedings had been opened.

The emperor wished for an augmentation of the



succours already granted him in Augsburg. An opinion of the council of war had been given in, according to which ninety-thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were to be light horse, were required.\* The emperor wished to have sixty thousand from the empire, promising in that case to furnish thirty thousand at his own expense. But it was quite contrary to all the precedents of the empire to increase a former grant. None of the delegates or envoys of the States were prepared for it; and the subsidies already voted — forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse — were larger than any ever granted before. On the 28th of May the emperor declared himself satisfied, and only urged that the troops might be assembled as rapidly and in as effective a state as possible. The place of meeting was not, as at first intended, Regensburg, but Vienna, — nearer to the enemy. The whole body of troops were to meet there on the 15th of August. For the first time, the military constitution of the empire was in real and active operation.

Even while the diet was sitting, meetings of the circles were convoked, commanders appointed and their pay provided, and the whole armament gradually put in a train.

\* They demanded 32,000 foot with long spears, 10,000 with short arms, 8000 good marksmen, 500 arquebuses, and a few thousand men to serve the artillery. This was reckoned at 118 pieces; falcons, falconets, culverines, nightingales, carronnades, mortars, &c. — Opinion of the Council of War. The Berlin archives contain the letters of Barfuss, concerning the first proceedings of the diet, in which we see that the opening of it took place on the 17th April.



But the thing on which the execution of all these decrees depended was, the result of the negotiations with the protestants.

What would be the consequence of their rejection was soon seen, when the emperor prepared to bring his own army into the field. He was particularly in want of fire-arms and of powder, and he was obliged to apply to the cities of Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Nürnberg, Constance and Frankfurt to come to his aid with theirs. They were all protestants.\*

Even the catholic States observed to the emperor that, before making war abroad, they must be secure of peace at home.†

It may even be asserted that the religious dissensions of the Germans were not among the feeblest of the motives that prompted Suleiman's undertaking. Whenever the ambassadors in the Turkish camp said that the emperor enjoyed the dutiful attachment of his subjects, they were asked, whether he had made peace with Martin

\* Fürstenberg to Frankfurt, 7th June.

† Denken Chf. FF. und Stände, wo der eusserlich krieg statlichen sol volnbracht werden, dass zuvor die hohe Notdurft erfordern wolle, anheym den Frieden zu halten, damit ein yder wiss, wie er neben dem andern sitz, — dass auch in allen andern Artikeln vermög E. K. M. Ausschreybens daneben fureschritten, gehandelt, — einer mit dem andern beschlossen werde.—The electors, princes, and states think, that if foreign war is to be carried on grandly, the first thing necessary will be, to keep the peace at home, so that every man may know how he sits next to his neighbour, — that also in all other articles in virtue of Y. I. M.'s summons, affairs should be proceeded with, negotiated, and one with another concluded.

Luther. The ambassadors replied, that indeed disputes sometimes arose in Christendom, but that they did not interfere with the general welfare; the peace in question would soon be concluded.\*

This was now to be seen. Let us turn our attention to the negotiations; momentous as is the crisis at which we are now arrived, these are interesting and important on other and more lasting grounds.

#### NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PROTESTANTS.

When, in the summer of 1531, the negotiations were opened, the catholics thought to resume them at the point where they had been broken off at Augsburg.

But it was immediately evident how widely circumstances were altered. The protestants no longer made, they received, petitions. They declared that it no longer seemed to them advisable to attempt to bring about a unity of religion; they, for their parts, were determined to adhere to their Protest and Confession, and would render a further account of them before a christian council.

They had a corresponding answer ready for every other proposal.

They were requested no longer to deprive the clergy of "their own." They replied that, if the bishops were allowed to retain their jurisdiction (for that was what was chiefly meant by "their own"), it would be putting a sword into their hands wherewith at any time to extirpate the true doctrine.

\* Report of the ambassadors, p. 31.

Farther, the emperor renewed the request that the exercise of the ancient ritual, especially the communion in one kind, should be permitted. Brück, the chancellor of Saxony, replied that, in that case the communion in both kinds must be permitted throughout the empire; peace could not be established so long as the liberty with regard to the two most important sacraments was not perfectly equal throughout the nation.

Lastly, the election was mentioned. Türk, the chancellor of Mainz, expressed his opinion that the opposition of the protestant party was raised only with a view to promote their religious interests. Dr. Brück replied, that he could assure him that his party had no fear whatever for their religion; it had penetrated too deeply into the hearts of the people: every one now knew how to discern right from wrong. The serious intention of the protestants was, that the king should either allow the thing to come to a legal settlement, or content himself with ruling over those who had elected him.\*

Such are the most important points of these negotiations, which fill huge bundles of documents in various archives.† The elector palatine kept up a constant correspondence with the landgrave;

\* Dr. Brück's Report of what he negotiated with Dr. Türk in Bitterfeld, Wednesday in the Christmas holidays (27th December, 1531). There was a second meeting, on Thursday after the Purification B. V. M. (5th February), concerning which there is a similar report in the Weim. Arch.

† In Weimar, Cassel, Magdeburg, Vienna. (See Bucholtz, Bd. ix. Erhard, Ueberlieferungen, Bd. i.)

the elector of Mainz with the elector of Saxony; and both of them with each other, and with the other members of the Schmalkaldic league. Occasionally imperial plenipotentiaries came to Weimar; the elector of Mainz took the opportunity, during his journey between Halle and Aschaffenburg, to speak with one or other of the most influential functionaries of Saxony; lastly, the two chancellors met in Bitterfeld, and drew up new proposals, which they sent to Brussels. The emperor turned pale when this affair, to which he had such a repugnance, was brought before him again; but he did not refuse to hear it, asked his brother's advice, and moderated or confirmed his propositions accordingly.

So long as there remained the faintest possibility of an accommodation with the Turks, we need not wonder that no progress was made in these affairs. In Schweinfurt, where the conferences were held in the beginning of the year 1532, not the smallest advance was made; the mediators deemed it best to let the business of the election entirely drop; and in Nürnberg, whither the negotiations were transferred in order to be nearer the emperor, the mediators at first only renewed the old proposals, and even added some limitations.\*

\* Endliche Mittel und Fürschlåg, worauf Kais. Mt uf d' Schweinfurtischen Handlung empfangenen Bericht — — zu handeln befohlen.—Final means and proposal whereupon his imperial majesty, on the receipt of the negotiations at Schweinfurt, has commanded us to treat. Monday after Boniface (10th June). It is an error in most editions of Luther's Works (e. g., Walch, xvii. p. 2202.), that the proposals were given in at

It was not till positive intelligence was received that the sultan's progress could not be arrested, and that he was advancing in greater force than ever, that the two parties began earnestly to endeavour to accommodate their differences.

Not that they had the smallest idea of coming to a perfect agreement. The protestants aspired to nothing more than to see the position they had taken up at least provisionally recognised by the emperor. They demanded the proclamation of a general peace, and the suspension of the proceed-

Schweinfurt. The protestants sent their answer on the 12th June. In Art. I. they missed the words, "who adopt in future into their doctrine the confession and apologia they have already made, which they acknowledge themselves bound by christian duty to accept." Art. 2., concerning the Council, they allege that the words, "that it shall determine according to the pure word of God alone," are wanting. So it goes on, and it is evident that they did not in the least give way. On the 18th July, on the contrary, they prayed, "that as to outward things, not belonging to God's word and to conscience, a general, permanent, internal peace may be treated of, and that the same may be concluded." This turn of things was expressly confirmed by a letter from John Frederic to the count of Nuenar, Sunday after St. James (30 July, 1532), wherein he complains that he has been detained eight weeks at Nürnberg, and then reports the negotiations. "His imperial majesty's mind is kept in such a state by the two electors, that nothing advantageous could be transacted; and we on our parts remarked so many difficulties therein, that we could not treat on those articles with the approbation of God or with a good conscience. Hence we have at last entirely rejected the articles, which ought to have been conducive to unity, since such were the terms offered; and have discussed how a general peace should be brought about in the empire. (Weim. Arch.)

ings of the Imperial Chamber, by which they felt themselves aggrieved.

But even these proved extremely difficult to obtain.

The mediators had again used the expression, "No one shall dispossess another of his own." No wonder if this provoked the opposition of the protestants. There was again no mention of any peace except that between the several States; whereas the protestants demanded that the peace "between his imperial majesty and themselves should be also proclaimed to all the States of the German nation."

Another obstacle to an arrangement was, the description of the council. The protestants had demanded "a council in which questions should be determined according to the pure word of God." This description was pronounced to be insidious, and not catholic. But as "a general free council, such as was determined on at the diet of Nürnberg," were the words substituted, the protestants had ample reason to be content, since they had always insisted on an adherence to the resolutions of that diet.

But the difficulty arising from the proceedings of the Chamber was much greater.

The idea of attacking the protestants by process of law was far more that of the majority than of the emperor. The tribunal itself was, as we have seen, an institution representing the States. We remember how much trouble it cost to set limits to the influence of the imperial court over it. In the proceedings of that tribunal against the protestants, resolved on at Augsburg, and already in full pro-

gress, the catholic party beheld its most powerful weapon. And in these they obstinately persisted, notwithstanding all their occasional declarations of the necessity of a peace. In the draft of a Recess which they laid before the emperor on the 10th July, an article declares that, in matters of religion, the Recess of Augsburg must be adhered to generally, and especially by the Imperial Chamber.\* The papal legate also refused to give his assent to an inhibition of the imperial fiscal in affairs of faith.

Such were the perplexities in which the emperor was involved. In order to resist the Turks, the tranquillity of the empire was absolutely necessary. But the sole condition which could assure peace to the protestants, the catholics refused him the power to grant.†

At length the imperial court came to this compromise;—in the public proclamation, to announce only the peace, but to give the protestants a private assurance of the suspension of the legal proceedings. This, too, was not so complete as the protestants wished. They had demanded a declaration, that the emperor would, neither

\* Letter from Planitz to Taubenheim, 11th July.

† Declaration of the emperor, sent by Planitz to Saxony, Thursday after St. John the Baptist (27th June). “And since the above mentioned States have seen good to abandon all further means and negotiations for peace, and adhere to the Recess of Augsburg, his majesty requests with peculiar earnestness of the above mentioned States, that they will consider what may be the consequences to the cause of the faith.”



through his fiscal, nor through his Chamber, nor in any other court of justice; and also, neither officially nor at the instigation of any other person or persons, allow proceedings to be taken against Saxony or his kinsmen and allies. The emperor was not to be induced to agree to so many express clauses. He only promised, that he would stay all law proceedings instituted "by his majesty's fiscal and others,"\* in matters of the faith against the elector of Saxony and his associates, until the convocation of the council. This promise did not absolutely offend the majority, and yet might be interpreted in the sense of the protestants, and as satisfying their principal demand.

On the other hand, that party had determined on a great concession, which is indeed implied in those words. Their original meaning had been that the assurance given them should also avail for all those who might join their confession in future; they had even demanded freedom of preaching and of the Lord's Supper according to their ritual, for the subjects of foreign dominions. But this again it was impossible to obtain from the emperor. The principal motive which he used to overcome the objections of the legate, was, that he put a check to protestantism by means of this treaty.† The

\* He could be brought to nothing beyond the addition of the words, "and others." In the original draft his majesty's fiscal only was mentioned. The negotiations remained wavering till the day of the final resolution, the Tuesday after St. Mary Magdalene.

† Granvella urged the "inconvenient irremediable, sans

second demand was, in fact, the same which the city cantons of Switzerland had made,—the same which had led to war in that country, and to such disastrous consequences. Luther himself said that it could not be complied with by their opponents; could it be hoped, for example, that Duke George would freely admit the evangelical doctrine into Leipsig? Impossible;—they, on their side, would not permit neighbouring princes to interfere in the internal affairs of their country. Luther was, as we have seen, a faithful ally of the territorial power of the princes. His conception of the empire likewise prevented his approving such a demand. He said it was as if they, the protestants, wanted to take advantage of the emperor; that is to say, to usurp an influence over the conduct of public affairs, in consequence of the necessity for defence. He was rather comforted that “the emperor, the supreme authority ordained of God, should so graciously offer to make peace, and give such clement and liberal commands for that end.” “I esteem it no otherwise,” says he, “than that God held out his hand to us.” That the progress of the evangelical faith was thus impeded, disquieted him little; he said “everybody must believe at his own peril;” that is, must be sufficiently strong in his belief to encounter whatever dangers it might subject him to.\* Elector

quelque traité pour (?) infecter le reste de la chrétienté, comme l'expérience l'a évidemment démontré.”—Bucholtz, ix. p. 32.

\* Reflections of Luther and Justus Jonas. De Wette, iv. 339. In his somewhat later reflections he reminds his prince, in his relations with his neighbours, of the principle, *quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris*.

John was entirely of the same opinion ; it was in harmony with the purely defensive attitude he had assumed from the first ; his ruling sentiment was, the necessity for a perfect justification of all he did by his own conscience. He did not suffer himself to be carried away by the brilliant extension of the league, at the head of which he stood, to swerve from the principles on which it was originally founded. He too thought, like Luther, that they ought not to give up the present good, the greatest on earth—peace,—for the sake of a contingent addition to their numbers. And accordingly he did not allow any limiting clause to be inserted in the treaty,—he bound himself by no promise for the future,—except that those States alone should be admitted into it, who belonged to the league, including Markgrave George and Nürnberg ; all the princes and States in short, with whom we are already familiar, and who had been joined by Nordhausen and Hamburg. The landgrave of Hessen, who entertained the contrary opinion, was at first not contented, but he afterwards acquiesced.\*

It may be regarded as a peculiar favour of Providence, that the aged elector of Saxony lived to witness these days of peace. We have seen above how much of the merit of founding the evangelical church was due to this simple-hearted man. He now enjoyed great consideration in the empire. Even a member of the imperial court (Count Nuenar) describes him as “the one father of the

\* Opinion of his theologians, Neudecker Urkk. 199.

German land in things human and divine.”\* But his mind was too much imbued with the sentiments of a prince of the empire, to be satisfied so long as he was at variance with the emperor. It formed part of the fulfilment of his destiny, to have regained the friendship of his chief; to have lived to see the legality of the position he had taken up with regard to the supreme power, acknowledged, after it had been so strenuously denied; and thus to have made a most important step towards the permanence of the religious establishment of which he was the founder. In August, both the public declarations and the private assurances of the emperor appeared. Shortly afterwards, when the elector had been once more taking the pleasure of the chase, with his two daughters and the fugitive electress of Brandenburg, and had come back in a very cheerful mood, he was struck with sudden death by apoplexy. “He who can trust on God,” says Luther, in the epitaph he wrote for his master and friend, “abides in security and peace.”

Meanwhile, however, the emperor, pressed by

\* William von Nuenar to John Frederic, 11th June (W. A.), “Dann wir haben leyder keynen mynschen, den wir für ein vater des duytschen vaterlandes in gotlichen und menschlichen Sachen achten mogen, denn allein U. F. G. Herr Vater und U. F. G., wir wollen widder mit gotlicher Hülfe um U. F. G. stan.” &c. — “For unhappily we have no man whom we can reverence and respect as a father of the German fatherland in divine and human things, save only Y. P. Grace’s father, and Y. P. G.: we will again, with the divine help, stand around Y. P. Grace,” &c.

necessity, determined to make concessions to the protestants, which had neither been suggested nor approved by the majority; a line of conduct which altered his whole position. The experiment which he had made in Augsburg — to govern with the majority, he now relinquished; while the majority, seeing that they did not find in him the support they expected, raised such an opposition to him at the diet of Regensburg as he had never before experienced. The states made reproachful representations concerning his entire system of government; — the delays of business; the appointment of foreigners, even to places in the chancery; the arrears of his share of the salaries of the Imperial Chamber; his arbitrary conduct towards Würtemberg, Maastricht (which he was accordingly compelled to separate from Brabant and reinstate in its ancient liberties), and Utrecht.\* Not alone he did not dare to publish the assurances above mentioned in favour of the protestants, but he was compelled, in direct contradiction with them, to confirm the decrees which had been passed at the recent visitation of the Imperial Chamber, wherein the execution of the

\* Letter from Fürstenberg, 8th July. The emperor replied to a reproach of this kind, that the suggestion was wholly “untimely and inconsiderate, and, as it appeared to H. M. not made with the knowledge of all the States; all in biting and sharp words.” Fürstenberg finds the reproaches very just; but he was not pleased at them, because they were likely to irritate the emperor, who had left his wife and child in order to attend to the business of the empire.

Recess of Augsburg was enjoined afresh. Nay, the majority even held out a sort of distant menace of the possibility of a coalition of the two religious parties against him. On reading in the Recess of the empire, that the States vehemently pressed for a council, we are not at first particularly struck with the fact; but if we weigh these words with greater attention and mark their origin, we shall see its vast importance. In the summer of 1531, Bavaria and Hessen had jointly determined upon this point: at a meeting between Landgrave Philip and Dr. Leonhard von Eck, at Giessen, it had been determined that, if the pope deferred the council longer, they would urge the emperor to summon one of his own authority; if the emperor also, from one cause or another, neglected to convoke it, an assembly of the States should be called to discuss the means of restoring the unity of religion and of putting a stop to crime.\* It is obvious that the opposition to the emperor was one means of uniting two leaders of the hostile parties in this determination; still the fact is very extraordinary. It was, indeed, not with the emperor's good will that he promised, in the Recess of Regensburg, that if the general council was not convoked by the pope within six months, and was not actually held within a year, he would summon an assembly of the empire, to deliberate on the evils that afflicted the German nation generally,

\* Correspondence in the Weim. Arch. extracts therefrom, and article of the agreement of Giessen in the Appendix.



and on the means of removing them. He distinctly felt that this resolution was forced upon him and might become dangerous. And, indeed, he avoided summoning another diet for eight years, from the fear that it should constitute itself a national assembly, and pass decrees on religious affairs entirely at variance with his own.\*

Such was now the aspect of things in Germany. Not only did the two religious parties stand confronted in a hostile attitude, but new divisions had broken out in their own ranks. The catholic majority was discontented with the emperor; while the landgrave of Hessen exchanged sarcastic, nay, insulting letters with the electoral prince John Frederic of Saxony, who now filled the place of his father.† Hessen and Bavaria, on the other hand, had formed a closer political connexion; but this could lead to no result, since the contrast between the two religious tendencies was no where so strongly exhibited as in the persons of these two princes. The emperor and Saxony had framed an accommodation; but it was easy to foresee what difficulties would attend its execution.

The emperor no longer appeared, as at Augsburg, in the full vigour to be expected from his time of

\* Declaration of the emperor to the pope, in the year 1539. Rainaldus, xxi. 104. Rem esse periculi plenam, alia indicere comitia, perpensa maxime sanctione ordinum imperii,—ut Pp. Clemens de convocando concilio rogaretur, quo non convocato Cæsar illud convocaret,—ac si huic muneri is deesset, ut concilium nationale cogerent.

† There is a whole roll of these letters copied in the W. A.



life. He was ill the whole summer; a hurt in the leg, which he got by a fall while hunting the wolf, took so dangerous a turn, that his physicians thought his thigh must be amputated, and one night the sacraments were administered to him. The injury was afterwards renewed by the part he imprudently took in a procession, and perhaps by excesses of another kind; during the diet he repaired to the baths of Abach in the hope of a cure, and was sometimes inaccessible even to his brother. When the States went to announce to him that the succours for the Turkish war were granted, they found him in his bedroom, sitting on a wooden bench without cushions, in the plainest dress, with a green bough in his hand with which he was brushing away the flies; "in his vest," says the Frankfurt ambassador, "with so lowly an air, that the meanest servant could not bear himself so humbly." \*

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TURKS.

And this feeble and sickly emperor,—this empire torn by such deep-rooted dissensions,—were now to sustain the attack of the mighty chief of the Ottomans, at the head of his countless bands. How different was his appearance! When Ferdinand's ambassadors had audience of him, not far from Belgrade, they were first conducted far and wide through the camp, both of the foot and horse sol-

\* Fürstenberg, Tuesday after Whitsuntide, and in other Letters. Ferdinand to Maria, 3d April, 1532. Gevay, ii. 74.

diers, splendidly accoutred ; then through the ranks of the janissaries, who met them with a somewhat insolent air, until they were received near the emperor's tent with trumpets and clarions, and at length were permitted to enter and to behold the lord of all these armies in his splendour, sitting on a golden throne; near him was a splendid crown, and before him, on the pillars of the throne, two magnificent sabres in scabbards inlaid with mother of pearl, and a richly ornamented bow and quiver. The ambassadors valued the jewels they saw at 1,200,000 ducats. On the 20th July the Turkish army crossed the Drave over twelve bridges of boats in the neighbourhood of Essek. Suleiman marched through Hungary, as if it had been his own undisputed territory. The castles which he passed sent out their keys to meet him. He punished the magnates who had deserted Zapolya; his approach struck terror into the others, and many of those who had remained true to Ferdinand, and now saw themselves abandoned, fell off from the house of Austria.

Germany now began to make serious preparations for defence.

The first who appeared in the field, even before the negotiations had come to an end, were the Nürnbergers. They were bound to furnish only one company; but "for the honour of the empire and the weal of christendom" they had equipped two; altogether eight hundred men, among whom two hundred were armed with matchlocks and fifty with arquebuses. Meanwhile, they, with some

of their neighbours, recruited a hundred reiters in Brunswick (among whom we find a Kamp, a Bürsberg, and, a Münchhausen), who were hospitably received on their arrival in the city, furnished with beer, wine and oats, and on the 21st of August took their way against the enemy under Sebastian von Jessen and Martin Pfinzing. Besides this, Nürnberg gave the emperor fifteen pieces of heavy artillery, 175 hundred-weight of powder, 1000 lances for the infantry, 200 coats of armour for the heralds, and a large stock of flour.\* Such were the munificent contributions of a single city, and all the others vied with Nürnberg. The imperial deputy, who carried to Ulm the requisition to prepare for war, had not returned to his quarters, when he heard the sound of the drum calling the people to arms. Augsburg instantly declared itself ready to send all its artillery to Vienna. It appears from a letter of the Frankfurt envoy that the firmness with which the emperor had resisted the majority, had produced a great impression on the cities.† For a moment the protestants raised the question, whether it would not be expedient to keep

\* Müllner's Annals: "all this was destined to the fortification and provisioning of the city of Vienna."

† "Es erwindet fürwahr nicht an Ks. Mt. und wird I. Mt. gnedig Gemüt und Herz auch von den Städten dermassen gespürt, dass sie I. Mt. mehr als ihre gebührliche Hülfe senden."—"There will truly be nothing wanting to your I. M., and your I. Majesty's gracious mind and heart are so understood by the cities that they send more than their proper contingent.

together, and to fight under a captain of their own; but this suggestion was speedily dismissed; it would have involved a fresh division, and they chose rather to serve according to the order of the circles. Meetings were held in all the circles at which a captain was nominated, to whom each State in the circle delivered a list of the men it intended to furnish. It was his business to see that the complement was actually under arms, whom it admonished to be obedient to their appointed leader. He had also the right to fill all offices with the most capable men of the circle. The persons from whom he was to receive his pay were determined, and were in return to enjoy certain privileges.\* In the circle of Lower Saxony, doubtless on account of the daily increasing religious dissensions, it was found impossible to come to a unanimous choice of a captain; the emperor, therefore, in virtue of the right which in this case devolved upon him, nominated the young markgrave Joachim of Brandenburg. At the beginning of August the whole empire was in a state of warlike preparation. "Daily," says cardinal Campeggi, in a letter of the 8th, "do we see the finest companies of horse and foot pass through Regensburg; they go forth in high spirits, and doubt not of victory." The emperor, too, was full of courage. He remarked that he could only be the gainer in this war, whether he were the victor or the vanquished. Were

\* Proceedings of the meeting of the circle of the Upper Rhine, at which Philip von Dhun was appointed. Frankfurt Records.

he conquered, he would leave behind him an illustrious name, and secure his entrance into paradise; if he were victorious, he would not only gain favour in the sight of God, but perhaps extend the empire to its ancient limits, live glorious on earth, and bequeath a great name to posterity.\* He appeared to wish nothing more earnestly than to meet his adversary face to face.

Meanwhile a most glorious, not to say marvellous, feat of arms had already been achieved in Hungary.

We are acquainted with the name of Nicholas Jurischitz, one of the two ambassadors of king Ferdinand to the sultan, in 1530, 1531. At that time, when the envoys found all negotiations fruitless, they said they saw that Hungary was destined to be the grave both of Turks and Christians. Jurischitz now seemed resolved to prove the truth of this prediction. He was just about to leave the city and castle of Günz (where he filled the office of captain) to a lieutenant, and to join his sovereign with a small band of ten heavy and twenty light horsemen, when the approach of the Turks filled the town with crowds of fugitives. He determined to remain, to afford these unhappy people at least a momentary defence, and to arrest the progress of the great army for a few days. He never entertained a hope of making any successful resistance to such an enemy. "I had

\* Niccolo Tiepolo, *Relatione di 1533*: Il che diceva sempre, che si vedeva non solamente pronto a questa impresa, ma quasi arder di desiderio che li venisse occasione di sorta che potesse honestamente esponere la persona sua a tal fortuna.

made up my mind," says he, "to certain death." The Turks appeared in full force and began the siege in the customary manner; planted their cannon on the nearest heights, dug mines and tried to enter by the breaches. Jurischitz had no other soldiers than his thirty reiters, the rest were all inhabitants of the town, or fugitive peasants; they might amount to about seven hundred in all. Yet they drove back the Turkish storming parties eleven times, and made that dauntless resistance which nothing but the determination rather to die than surrender, could have inspired. At length, however—as was inevitable—all was vain. The Turks had thrown up two great heaps of rubbish to the height of the wall; on one of these they planted their largest guns, which now commanded the walls, and under cover of their fire a broad way could be made from the other to the wall. The assault thus prepared was made on the 28th of August by janissaries and horsemen; and it was impossible, as may easily be imagined, to make any resistance to such a superiority both of numbers and position. The besieged were soon driven into their last entrenchment, where they still maintained the fight, though with failing strength; already the Turkish banner floated from eight different points on the walls. Jurischitz expected nothing but death. "I rejoice," said he, "that God's grace hath appointed me so honourable an end." But he was reserved for a wondrous deliverance. The defenceless fugitives—women, children and aged men,—now beheld themselves given over to the



fury of their terrible and barbarous foe. At the moment when he was rushing upon them they uttered a cry, in which the imploring appeal to Heaven was blended with the shriek of despair; that piercing cry which nature forces unconsciously from the living creature when threatened with inevitable destruction. If this can be called a prayer, never was prayer more instantly heard. The conquering Ottomans recoiled with alarm from the terrific sound. The resistance they had encountered had long appeared to them almost miraculous, and they now thought they saw fresh troops issue from every house; they imagined they beheld in the air a knight in full harness, brandishing his sword at them with menacing gestures. They retreated. "The Almighty God," exclaimed Jurischitz, "has visibly saved us."\*

We might liken this to the Delphic god who opposed the irruption of the Gauls into Greece; to the apparition which called aloud to Drusus, in the centre of Germany, "Thus far, and no farther;" or to other of those sudden turns of fortune which, at the moment of their occurrence, have impressed the minds of men with a sense of the presence of a higher Power (under whatever form they conceived it);—but we will not venture into these regions; it is enough for us to say that

\* Letter from Jurischitz, in Göbel's *Beiträgen*, p. 303.—Also what Jovius heard from his own lips, lib. xxx. p. 105. *Sepulveda* x. 17—23.



dauntless valour and complete self-devotion were crowned with their usual success.

Suleiman resolved to leave his brave enemy, who could not have held out one hour longer, under a guard, and to march onward.

In the interval, however, the emperor had had time to collect his forces. He himself had raised 12,000 landsknechts, who had mustered in the neighbourhood of Augsburg. Spanish grandees had come to win honour under the eye of their emperor, in the war against the infidels. The duke of Ferrara had sent a hundred *huomini d'armi*. Other Italians arrived, under the conduct of the young Ippolito de' Medici, nephew of Pope Clement VII. King Ferdinand's hereditary domains had done their best, and no means were neglected to raise money; he had even applied to several Netherland nobles, and to devout rich women, urging that no one could better employ his wealth than in the defence of Christendom.\* But the militia of the empire formed the main strength of his army. The great muster took place in the Tulner field, near Vienna. The numbers cannot be precisely ascertained; the most credible accounts vary from 76,000 to 86,000 men. On one point however they are all agreed;—that it was the finest army that had been seen in Christendom for centuries. It combined the qualities which had won the great victories in Italy; German strength and discipline, Italian activity, and the

\* Letter from Ferdinand to Maria. Gevay, ii. 23.

dogged craftiness of the Spaniards. But the German ingredient was by far the largest.

Suleiman had advanced in the expectation that the divisions which reigned in Christendom, and especially in Germany, would tie the emperor's hands and render a vigorous and effective resistance impossible. When he saw before him so numerous and well-appointed an army, he had not the courage (which he had so often vaunted) to seek them in the field.

Despatching his Akindschi, 15,000 in number, towards Austria, he himself marched into Styria and appeared before Grätz.\* The Akindschi were light troops, commanded by a chief, the crest of whose helmet was a vulture—the symbol of swiftness and rapacity. They were however driven by one band of Germans into the hands of another, and almost annihilated; Grätz defended itself, and, in the mean time, tidings arrived that Doria had obtained signal successes over Zai-beg in the Ionian seas. Suleiman recognized the ascendancy of the star of his rival, and determined to withdraw from so perilous a struggle by a rapid retreat.†

The emperor had, as we have observed, wished to give battle to the enemy; for a decisive vic-

\* True description of the second expedition into Austria. From an old Nürnberg printed paper of 1539, in Göbel's *Beiträgen*, p. 309. The writing is taken from the correspondence of the Count Palatine.

† Schärtlins *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 35. Hammer, iii. p. 118.

tory might have restored Hungary to his brother. But he was satisfied with this less brilliant result. "God's grace has granted us the glory and the happiness," he writes to the pope, "to have put the common enemy of Christendom to flight, and to have averted the mischief which he designed to inflict on us."\* He was fully sensible that this was not a mere momentary advantage. It was a gain for ever, that the fear of the warlike array of the Germans, — the impression of their superior force, had rendered the sultan averse to engage in the struggle, and had determined him to retreat.

Doria, too, had gained brilliant advantages for the emperor. He had driven the Ottoman squadron out of the Ionian seas, pursued them beyond Cerigo, and taken Coron, Patras and the Dardanelles in rapid succession. Large cannon with Arabic inscriptions were brought to Genoa, and placed in the Doria chapel on the Molo.†

The satisfaction of king Ferdinand was far less complete than that of his brother. He had really hoped to recover Hungary — Belgrade not excepted, in the full tide of victory. But the troops thought they had done enough in having repulsed the enemy from the frontiers of Germany. The captains produced their instructions, in which no mention was made of the conquest of Hungary. The commander-in-chief, count palatine Frederic,

\* Sandoval, ii.

† Jovius, lib. xxxi. *Historia del Guazzo*, p. 124.

refused to advance. The main cause of this was, that Ferdinand had lost the favour of the nation by the zeal he had evinced for the papacy; the people would make no conquests for him. They wished rather to see him weaker than stronger, as soon became evident.

## CHAPTER VII.

INFLUENCE OF FRANCE. RESTORATION OF WÜRTENBERG. 1533, 1534.

It had appeared as if Latin Christendom, united under the emperor and the pope, were about to fall with all its weight upon the seceders from its body, and to annihilate them.

Instead of this, however, it happened that one of its chiefs was compelled, in order to ward off the attack of the powerful foes who more immediately threatened himself and his house, to come to terms with the protestants, and to grant them temporary immunity. The positive concession was not the only thing they gained; it was a no less important advantage to them to be thus associated in the great national enterprise, and to contribute their full share to the defence of their common fatherland.

But meanwhile the intestine discords which we have noticed had broken out afresh among those from whom the protestants had the most to fear.

King Francis was unquestionably bound by treaties to assist the house of Austria against the Turks; but his pride forbade him to do this in the manner the emperor desired. Francis offered to attack the Turks in Egypt; but the imperialists

suspected that his real purpose was, to arm under this pretext, and then to fall on Genoa and Naples; and they utterly refused his offer.\*

We have observed with what vehemence he rejected the proposal for a combined war against Switzerland.

In the matter of the council, too, his answer was evasive. He was much more anxious for the favour of the pope, who sought to avoid, than for the friendship of the emperor, who wished to convoke it.†

For he never for a moment thought of regarding the concessions which he had been forced to make in Cambray (especially the renunciation of all claim to Genoa and Milan), as definitive. He regarded these possessions as his own property, of which he had no right to rob his children, and he felt his honour wounded as often as he thought he had lost them.

An alliance with the pope seemed to him the only means for their recovery.

From day to day new differences broke out between the pope and the emperor.

The emperor's earnest importunity for a council

\* Letter from A. de Burgo to Ferdinand. Rome, 2nd March, 1531. Bucholtz, ix. 90.

† Gregorio Casali au Grand Maistre, 5 Maggio 1531, *Le Grand Histoire du Divorce*, iii. 542. Questa corte fin adesso è stata in gran timore del concilio, hora sono alquanto assicurati, sì per le ultime lettere dell' imperatore, che sono state meno furiose delle altre, sì anche per quello si spera in voi altri.

was very distressing to the court of Rome. It had been represented to him, that while he demanded money from the pope, he deprived him of the means of raising it; since not a man was to be found who would advance a loan on ecclesiastical revenues, the reduction of which was expected from the council. Besides this, Clement VII. felt himself offended that so little respect was shown to his recommendations; that, in the granting of vacant benefices, less attention was paid to the interest of his nephew Ippolito than he had anticipated; that Cardinal Colonna, a sworn enemy of the court of Rome, was left at full liberty to do as he pleased in Naples. But what chiefly inflamed the old resentment was, the emperor's decision in the affair of Ferrara. The emperor had promised the pope, that if he saw the right was not on the side of his holiness, he would pronounce no decision at all. Nevertheless, he now decided in favour of Ferrara. "This," says a confidant of the pope, "has wounded his holiness's heart."—"Would to God," exclaims the *Chargé d'affaires* of king Ferdinand, "that the emperor had not pronounced that sentence!" He thought he observed that the imperial party at court and in the sacred college had been weakened by it.\*

The king of France, on the other hand, had proposed to the pope the most honourable alliance that had ever been conferred on a papal house. He offered the hand of his son, Henry of Orleans,

\* A. de Burgo, 8th June, 1531, p. 99.



whose prospect of the throne of France was by no means remote (and who in fact subsequently occupied it), to the pope's niece, Catharine de' Medici.

The value attached to this connexion by the pope may be inferred from the treaty which he concluded on the 9th of June, 1531.

The king's demands were by no means humble; above all, the creation of a principality for the young couple, consisting of Pisa and Leghorn, Reggio, Modena, Rubiera, Parma, and Piacenza; with these, Urbino, which had for a time belonged to Catharine's father—nay, even Milan and Genoa, were to be united. The pope was to promise his aid to reconquer these districts.\*

The pope entered earnestly into the negotiations. In the presence of the French ambassadors, cardinal Grammont and the duke of Albany, he declared himself ready, as soon as the marriage should be concluded, to cede Pisa, Leghorn, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera, to the young couple; and whenever he and the king should deem it practicable and expedient, Parma and Piacenza; for which, however, the king was to grant compensation to the Church, to be determined by commissioners appointed by both parties. He expressed himself very willing to contribute his share

\* Articles secrets of the marriage treaty, signed, like that, on the 24th April. Among other demands was, "Ayde et secours audit futur epoux pour luy ayder à recouvrer l'estat et duché de Milan et la seigneurie de Gennes, qui luy appartiennent."

to the reconquest of Urbino. Concerning Genoa and Milan, he gave no decisive answer. But he declared that he found the secret articles, in which this demand was contained, generally reasonable and just, and desired their execution as soon as a good opportunity should present itself.\*

It is evident how close was the common interest thus established between the king and the pope, in the entire reconstitution of Italy, and how totally this interest was at variance with that of the emperor.

It followed of course that the pope kept his engagements with France as secret as possible.

In August, 1531, he once ventured to say to the Austrian minister plenipotentiary, that he held it to be absolutely necessary to do something for the satisfaction of the king of France; he saw that the emperor would never give up Genoa and Milan, but would it not be possible to hold out hopes to that effect, without really fulfilling them?† But the impression which even such a suggestion was calculated to make was very unfavourable. At least the pope said to the French ambassador, in allusion to it, that he saw himself under the necessity of concealing his good intentions towards France and of begging for delay; but that the French needed not for one moment to doubt of his dispositions. He

\* N<sup>re</sup> St. père ayant vu les articles secrets les a trouvés et trouve très raisonnables.—MS. Bethune 8541 f. 36.—I found the article and declaration in the King's Library at Paris.

† Burgo, 11th August, 101.

several times admitted in confidence, that the emperor had pushed his advantages too far in the last treaty, and that it were to be wished that he would restore to the king his rightful property. In March, 1532, the ambassador was convinced that it was the pope's sincere desire that the king should rule in Milan and the emperor in Naples; then he would believe that, placed between them, he might enjoy some power.\*

At the period we are come to we no longer expect schemes like those which all this weighing of advantages, this leaning to France, which he sought to conceal, at length led the pope to contrive.

In May, 1532, he sent a proposal to king Ferdinand to abandon what he possessed of Hungary to the woiwode, and to indemnify himself for the loss in Italy, and especially in the Venetian territory. He had utterly forgotten the lessons which others had learned from the war of the Ligue of Cambray. The woiwode, whom he (though in the secret tribunal of conscience) had relieved from the censures which he had once pronounced against him, in favour of the brothers of Austria, was now to ally himself with them against Venice. The king of France was to do the same; and, as a recompence, was to have a part of the Milanese and a part of Piedmont. Francesco Sforza was to

\* Despesches de l'evêque d'Auxerre, ambassadeur pour le roi François I. près le Pape Clement, 11 Sept., 28 Oct., 4 Janv., 20 Mars. Bibl. Royale. MS. Dupuis, nr. 260.

be created duke of Cremona, and to be propitiated by a territory formed out of the Milanese and Venetian domains : — in short, a scheme exactly in the spirit of the restless policy of his immediate predecessor. The desire to see the king of France once more powerful in Italy had clothed itself in the most singular forms in his mind.\*

Negotiations were actually set on foot for the furtherance of this project ; nor did it appear utterly out of the question to Ferdinand's plenipotentiary, nor probably to Ferdinand himself ; but in the mean time the Ottoman invasion approached and demanded exclusive attention, and, while he was so occupied, circumstances altered.

The emperor instantly reappeared in Italy.

It may be true, as has been affirmed, that want of money led him to dismiss his great army, and to leave his brother with an insufficient force : another motive, however, doubtless was, that it was become extremely urgent for him to hold personal communication with the pope. On the 5th December he repaired to a fresh conference with him at Bologna.

The affair of the council necessarily claimed precedence of all others. The emperor did not deceive himself as to the pope's desire to evade it.† But he

\* Andreas de Burgo to the Cl. of Trent, 23rd May, 1532, very circumstantial ; see letters of 29th August, and 14th September.

† He wrote this to his brother as early as the 29th July, 1531. Plus va l'on avant, plus l'on apperçoit que le pape n'y (for

probably hoped that his presence, and fresh representations of the state of things in Germany (especially the danger of a national assembly), would extort some concession from the pope. The conferences began without delay; the pope created a congregation for them, consisting of cardinals Farnese, Cesis, and Campeggi, and Aleander archbishop of Brindisi, who held consistories on the matter. The question was, whether a council should be definitively convoked, or whether an attempt should first be made to allay the pending quarrels between the christian princes. For these quarrels were always alleged by the pope as the excuse for his procrastination. In the first consistory the cardinals declared for immediate convocation, on the ground that the attempt to effect the reconciliation alluded to was too remote and uncertain. But the pope deferred receiving the decision till the next sitting; and in this, on the 20th December, it fell out in accordance with his wishes. The majority declared that until the reconciliation was effected, the council could not be held, nor any common measures be adopted against the Turks or the Lutherans.\* The displeasure of the emperor may

the Council) a voulté et que le roy de France luy ne veult deplaire, pensant par ce moyen le tenir gaigné. (Brussels Arch.)

\* This information is not given by Pallavicini, but it is authentic nevertheless. I took it from a despatch of the French ambassador, the Bishop of Auxerre, date 24th December, 1532. "Sire, au premier consistoire, une partie des Cardinaux opina, qu'il falloit pourvoir de faire ung concille tant pour obvier aux Lutheriens que au Turc, disant que la chose seroit

easily be imagined. An attempt was made to save appearances; declarations were published that the council should, at all events, be held, and deputies were sent to Germany to make a show of preparing for it; but all this was, if I may use the expression, mere fencing. These missions had no other serious purpose than that of persuading the Germans to abandon the thought of the national council. This was the only point on which the emperor and the pope understood each other.\*

The maintenance of peace in Italy next came under discussion. The emperor thought he had to expect an attack of Francis I. on Genoa, and his scheme was, to prevent this by a coalition of all the Italian states for their mutual defence. But in this too he experienced but feeble support from the pope. In the presence of the emperor, Clement spoke indeed in favour of such a coalition; but in secret he gave the Venetian ambassador to understand, that in what he had said there, he had merely expressed the opinion of the emperor, not his own; and that he might cautiously intimate this to the republic.†

*trop longue de vouloir à cette heure appointer les princes chretiens; fut par notre st. père la chose remis à correcture jusqu'au prochain consistoire, qui fut vendredi dernier, auquel fut conclu par sa S<sup>te</sup> et à la pluralité des voix que sans accorder lesd. princes chretiens ne se pouvoit faire ny concille ny pourvoir au Turc ny auxd. Lutheriens."*

\* Extract from the Instructions to the nuncio, Ugo Rangoni. Pallavicini, lib. III. c. xiii. (V. i. p. 327.)

† "Que ce qu'il avoit dict present l'empereur, il l'avoit dict comme opinion de l'empereur, mais non pas comme la sienne, et qu'il le fist entendre saignement à la S<sup>rie</sup>." L'evêque d'Auxerre, 1. Janv. 1533.

The Venetians declared that their relation to the Ottoman prevented their joining this coalition, which was formed solely to favour Andrea Doria. Another obstacle arose from the misunderstanding between the pope and Ferrara. With the utmost difficulty, Clement was brought to promise the duke security for eighteen months.\* At length the treaty was concluded, and the contributions which each was to furnish in the event of a war, determined. But the negotiations themselves suffice to show how little cohesive force the league possessed. They were, indeed, rather advantageous to Francis, inasmuch as they afforded him a fair occasion for complaining of the hostility which the emperor betrayed in these precautions.

If the emperor had hoped to loosen the ties between the pope and the king by a compact of this kind, he had fallen into a gross delusion. Against so honourable a family alliance as that proposed, no objections or representations were likely to have any effect.

In the following autumn the pope set out in person to conduct his niece to France. At Marseilles he had a meeting with king Francis, which was of incomparably more importance than his recent interview with the emperor.

Unfortunately, from the nature of the case (the negotiations being all conducted orally), we have no authentic documents concerning them. The emperor received warning from Rome that it

\* Compare Guicciardini (at that time vice-legate at Bologna, who was called to the conferences), lib. xx. p. 109.



was not possible but that the pope and the king had some designs against him\* ; and the testimony both of the Florentine confidants of the pope, and of so acute and excellent an observer as the Venetian ambassador, unanimously goes to prove that this was the case.

Not only were French cardinals nominated at Marseilles ; a much more important fact was, that the pope consented, at the king's request, to recal his nuncio in Switzerland, the bishop of Veroli, who was thought to be well affected to the emperor.†

Other circumstances soon show what had been concerted between the two sovereigns.

The duke of Orleans, husband of the pope's niece, laid claim to Urbino as the inheritance of his wife, and the papal nuncio in Germany did not conceal that the pope meant to support his claim.‡ He was, he said, certainly forbidden by treaty to attempt any changes ; but it was impossible to call that a change, which was merely a restitution. Urbino was a fief of the Church, and it could not be believed that the emperor would espouse the cause of any papal vassal against the Church.‡

\* Letter in Sandoval, xx. § 20 : Que no se descuyasse, porque no era possible se no que el papa y el rey avian tratado algun negocio contra el. The emperor himself mentions these things, "Que l'on y vouldroit practiquer au prejudice des choses traitées entre ledit Sr Roy et nous." *Papiers d'état de Granvelle*, ii. p. 73.

† Sanchez, in Bucholtz, ix. 122.

‡ Letter from the archbishop of Lunden to Granvelle, 15th February, 1534. The nuncio had said : "Scire se, ob id bel-

This matter however assumed a much greater importance when the king renewed his claims to Milan more energetically than ever. He demanded that Sforza should be provided for by a pension, and Milan instantly ceded to him.\*

If we bear in mind that these were the stipulations of the marriage treaty, it will appear extremely probable that the real subject of the conference at Marseilles was, the mode of carrying them into execution. And indeed it could not be otherwise than most welcome to the pope to see his niece a powerful Italian princess.

His near connexion with France freed him from any immediate fear of the emperor. We shall see how he tied the hands of that monarch, and indeed tried to change the whole direction of his policy, by complying with his wishes in the English affair.

The question only remains, how he meant to bring him to give way in Italian affairs, — whether by open force, or by indirect means.†

The Venetian ambassador affirms, that the pope declined the former, but gave his assent to the latter.

lum futurum in Italia et pontificem auxilia daturum duci Aurelianensi contra quoscunque pro recuperatione dicti ducatus.

\* Extracts in Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, i. 262.

† The emperor himself afterwards saw the affair in that light. After the breaking out of the landgrave's war, he charged his ambassador to declare to the king: *Que ces moiens qu'il semble être pour nous vouloir contraindre sont bien loin, etc. Papiers d'état de Granvelle*, ii. 109.

The political opposition to the house of Austria (which had succeeded in imposing its will on catholic Europe by force of arms) had been a little allayed, but it now revived, and resumed its former projects. The scheme of the king and the pope was, to make use of foreign hostilities to further their own ends.

The Venetian ambassador mentions that a movement on the part of the Ottomans had even been talked of in Marseilles, but he will not positively affirm it\*: on the other hand, he asserts without the smallest doubt, that a general recourse to arms in Germany was under deliberation. Guicciardini too maintains, that the king communicated to the pope his design of setting the German princes in motion against the emperor.†

I find nothing that can invalidate the credibility

\* It is certain, nevertheless. The pope himself, who wished to call the attention of the emperor to the subject, gave him the news. *L'empereur au comte de Reux*, 19 août 1535. *Pap. d'et. du Cl de Granvelle*, ii. 341. que le roy de France luy avoit respondu en parlant de la desfension et provision à l'encontre dudit Tureq, que non seulement iceluy roy de France n'empescherait sa venue contre la dite chrestienté, mais la procureroit.

† *Relatione di Francia di M. Marino Giustiniani*, 1535. Giudico, che l'intelligentia coi Turchi fusse medesimamente deliberata in Marsiglia con Clemente Pontifice, comme fu ancora quella di Germania. Guicciardini xx. 111. havendogli (al papa) comunicato il re di Francia molti di suoi consigli, e specialmente il disegno che haveva di conciliare contro Cesare alcuni di principi di Germania, massimamente il landgravio d'Hassia. See Sandoval, lib. xx. § 20. Hereupon they parted, completely satisfied with each other.

of these assertions, or can, on any reasonable grounds, be set against them.

For the connexions which the king at that time maintained with the German princes were solely of a political character.

He especially abetted the opposition to the election of king Ferdinand. When, in May, 1532, the opposing princes formed a closer union, and even agreed on a regular military constitution, Francis I. bound himself, in the event of war, to pay 100,000 gulden to the dukes of Bavaria. The boldest and most extensive plans were occasionally put forth; for example, the one talked of, in February, 1533, — an invasion of Charles's territories by the French, simultaneously with an attack on those of Ferdinand by Zapolya.\* The German empire was incessantly traversed by agents of the king, the most of whom were Gervaise Wain, a native of Memmingen, and Guillaume du Bellay, in order to keep the opposition alive, and to knit closer all the threads that bound it together.

But the affairs of Würtemberg soon became even more important than those of the election.

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The efforts to restore the Duke of Würtemberg to the throne may be dated from the very day of his expulsion. Innumerable negotiations and conferences had been set on foot for that purpose†; but

\* Stumpf, *Baierns politische Geschichte*, i. 94.

† E.g. the negotiations between landgrave Philip and duke Henry of Brunswick, in the year 1530, which have since been minutely discussed in the controversial writings.

all had been frustrated by the decided hostility of the Swabian league; and at the diet of Augsburg, Ferdinand received from his brother the investiture of Württemberg in the most solemn manner.

In the year 1532, however, an event occurred which gave a fresh cogency to the claims of the sovereign house.

After the expulsion of duke Ulrich, his son Christopher, then only five years of age, was also carried out of Württemberg. It was reported that, at the last house in which he slept in his own country, the boy played with a lamb, and when he went away earnestly entreated the host to take care of it, promising that when he came back he would reward him for his trouble. It was long, however, before this childish dream was fulfilled. The boy grew up in Insbruck and Neustadt, under Ferdinand's guardianship. He was not very well taken care of, less perhaps from evil intention, than from the general disorderly state of the affairs of the court; he himself tells us that his condition excited pity; sometimes he suffered absolute want, and once he was even in danger of being carried off by the Turks. But early suffering is a better school for princes than the idleness and the flattery of a court; fortune was, in the main, his true friend. She gave him, as a teacher, the learned and excellent Michael Tifernus, who attached himself to his charge with entire devotion. The history of this man is extremely characteristic of his times. When a child, he was

carried off by the Turks, whence, nobody knew; but at length they dropped him on the road. The poor little foundling was taken to Duino (Tybein) near Trieste, from which town he took his name: there he was brought up by charitable people, and afterwards sent to a college at Vienna, where his education was completed. He carefully watched over the safety of his docile and intelligent pupil. By degrees the lad was introduced at court, for there was no intention of breeding him in a manner unseemly for a prince; and in 1530, he was with the emperor in Augsburg. Here he inevitably learned his true position in the world; for he became a centre of attraction to people who incessantly reminded him of his claims to sovereign power. How then could he see with indifference the banners of Württemberg and Teck in Ferdinand's hand, at the ceremony of the investiture? The feeling of his right grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength; but he was obliged to repress and conceal it. In this excited state of mind, he received notice that he was to accompany the emperor, with whom he had willingly gone to the Netherlands, through Italy and Spain. It is very probable that he felt no inclination for this expedition; especially when he remembered that, immediately after the expulsion of his father, there was an idea of sending him to Spain. Christopher was, moreover, determined not to abandon "his rights in Germany." He said plainly that he would have nothing to do with the journey to Spain.

Accordingly, when the imperial court crossed the Alps to Italy, after the Turkish war in 1532, he contrived to escape with his tutor. They wandered away from the rest of the retinue unobserved, and took the road to Salzburg. Guided by peasants familiar with the mountain passes, they were at a great distance before they were missed and followed. If all the circumstances related in the 16th century were true, their flight was accompanied with various perils; one of their horses fell ill, and in order to avoid being betrayed by its body, they determined to drown it in a lake; and while the young prince fled on the remaining horse, from his pursuers, Tifernus lay hidden in the long rushes on its margin.\* In short, they disappeared from the court, and it was generally believed that they had fallen victims to bands of soldiers or peasants in the mountains.† But they had reached a secure asylum, probably under the protection of the dukes of Bavaria, whence the complaints of Christopher, and his demands for the restitution of

\* The ground-work of this story is in Gabelkofer, extracted by Sattler and Pfister (Duke Christopher). Pfister says (p. 80) that Charles had begun to pay attention to Christopher in Vienna, and took him with him to a meeting he had with Hadrian VI. in Bologna. This is not true. Heyd, too (Duke Ulrich, ii. 332.), seems to me to go too far, when he concludes from an expression of Christopher's, "that he had inquired into his affairs ever since the diet of Augsburg," that the young prince was not there.

† Letter from Christopher to his mother, 18th October. Heyd, ii. 339.



his inheritance were suddenly proclaimed aloud to the world.\*

The re-appearance of a prince of the house of Württemberg, with legitimate claims unimpaired by time; of the ancient race and name, and possessed of the affections of his born subjects, was of itself a very important event. At that moment it was rendered doubly so by the circumstance, that the dukes of Bavaria, to whom Christopher's father had been peculiarly odious, and whose coalition with the Swabian League had been the main instrument of his expulsion, now gave their support to his son.

The Swabian League was indeed already on the eve of dissolution. One motive for this was, the long-existing one, — that the princes could not accustom themselves to submit to the council of the League, in which prelates and cities enjoyed equal rights and equal influence with themselves, and an adroit member sometimes guided the decision of the assembly at his pleasure.† In 1532, Hessen, Trèves and the Palatinate formed a separate coalition, in which they promised each other

\* The first letter of the 17th November. Sattler, ii. 229.

† Landgrave Philip says, in a subsequent letter (25th December, 1545): "Befinden, wie es im schwäbischen Bund zugegangen, dass Dr. Eck, so oft er gewollt, das Mehrer hat machen können, es sey gleich den andern Ständen gelegen oder ungelegen gewesen, welches auch verursacht das der schwäbische Pund darüber zerrissen worden."—"I find how it has gone on in the Swabian league, that Dr. Eck, as often as he pleased, was able to play the leader, whether the other States liked it or not, which has also caused the rupture of the Swabian league."

not to agree to a renewal of the League.\* The cities, too, were dissatisfied; especially at the rigorous catholic proceedings of the league tribunal. Ulm, Augsburg and Nürnberg united for their common protection. But the highest discontents were caused by the affairs of Würtemberg. In the year 1530, Würtemberg shared all the privileges of Austria, and was even left out of the matricula of the Imperial Chamber. It seemed that it was to enjoy an exemption from all the burdens of the empire. And meanwhile the expenses of the war, which the League had incurred in the conquests of 1519, were not yet paid.† The emperor and the king clearly saw how important it was for the possession of the country, to be able to call out the well-appointed veteran troops of the League; their plenipotentiary, the bishop of Augsburg, took all possible pains, in the year 1533, to hold it together.‡ But already the result appeared very dubious: under the existing circumstances, no one would undertake the defence of Würtemberg for Ferdinand. Bavaria declared that he regarded the cause of duke Christopher as his own.

In December 1533, a meeting of the League was

\* Friday after St. Bernard. The agreement is in the Archives of Trèves, at Coblenz.

† Ferdinand to Charles, 27th April. V. M<sup>d</sup> sabe la dicha liga no quire mas servir en esto hasta ser pagados dello que por ello les fue prometido y esto al presente por mi parte tengolo por impossible.

‡ The Instructions and Statement are in the Brussels Archives. See Appendix.

held at Augsburg, for the definitive adjustment of the affair.

The poor, despoiled, and almost forgotten young prince now appeared with a brilliant band of supporters ; councillors from electoral Saxony, Brunswick, Lüneburg, Hessen, Münster, Juliers, Mecklenburg, and Prussia. Ferdinand's commissioners found themselves constrained to treat with him, and to offer as compensation Cilli, Görz, or Nellenburg. The young duke, however, would no longer listen to these proposals. He declared that the agreement upon which they were founded had never been fulfilled, and hence was at an end.\* He conducted himself with prudence and circumspection, taking care never to advert to the causes of his father's expulsion. He only steadily maintained, that unheard-of injustice had been done to his house, and to himself particularly ; seeing that not one of the stipulations made and agreed to had been observed. He solemnly declared, however, that, in spite of this, he should never think of revenging on the leagued states the injuries they had inflicted on his house. This assurance was repeated in his father's name by the Hessian envoys. The impression made by these circumstances rendered it impossible for the commissioners to advance a single step. When the meeting dispersed, it was obvious to every one that the great

\* See Complete Refutation of the Treaties: last day of July, 1533. Hortleder, i. iii. vii.

league on which the power of Austria in Upper Germany mainly rested, was near its dissolution.\*

A French envoy was present at this assembly. We are so fortunate as to possess the pathetic discourse which he pronounced in favour of Duke Christopher†; but the simple fact that so powerful a neighbouring monarch espoused the cause of the young prince, produced a greater effect than all his eloquence.

This happened at the same time that the king and the pope were together in Marseilles. As soon as the pope left that city, the king, secure of a good understanding with Rome, hastened to take advantage of favouring circumstances for a decisive movement.

In January 1534, he contracted a still closer alliance with the German princes as to the affair of the election. He engaged, in case it should lead to a war, to take upon himself a third part of the costs. For the present, he paid the 100,000 crowns of the sum he had promised, which were deposited with the dukes of Bavaria.

\* Extract from Gabelkofer in Pfister, Duke Christopher I., 102 — 116.; expressly remarked by Baut. (Heyd, ii. 424.)

† "The prince would be an exile; in foreign lands men would point at him and say, that is he who once — who now — who without any fault of his" — he did not finish the sentence, because he read, as he said, in the eyes of the assembly that they felt his meaning. Discours de M. de Langey, in the Appendix to the Memoires of Bellay. Coll. univ. tom. xviii. p. 336. He was, moreover, commissioned (p. 274.), "d'essayer tous moyens possibles à faire que cette ligue de Suabe ne se renovast, mais que de tous points elle se dissolust."

He felt that his objects would be more immediately furthered by supporting the claims of Württemberg, upon which affair he immediately entered.

Landgrave Philip, personally attached to duke Ulrich of Württemberg, and hostile on various grounds to the house of Austria, had long determined to undertake the restoration of the exiled house at the first favourable opportunity. This had been one principal aim of his whole policy during many years. Circumstances now favoured his designs. He wanted nothing but money in order to strike the blow as quickly as possible, and without any obstructing engagements with other German princes.

The alliance between King Francis and Landgrave Philip was mainly negotiated by Count William of Fürstenberg, one of those partisan leaders who attached themselves first to one side and then to another. After serving the house of Austria in the year 1528, he had now thrown himself into the party of France.

From Marseilles, the king proceeded to the eastern frontier of his kingdom, under the conduct of Count Fürstenberg.\* Landgrave Philip also came from Cassel, and passed through Zweibrücken; on the 18th we find him at St. Nicholas on the Meurthe.

A meeting between him and the king immediately took place in Barleduc. All the pending questions

\* Letter from Philip to Fürstenberg. Münch, Fürstenberg, ii. p. 37.

were here discussed ; the council and the election ; the interests of Hessen and Nassau ; and those of the Netherlands and Gueldres. The king professed himself on every point a friend of German independence, and, in general, of the protestant princes\* ; the main question, however, — that on which all depended, — was the design upon Würtemberg. The landgrave, who had no want of troops or munitions of war, demanded, in the first place, money to put them in motion. The king, expressly bound by the treaty of Cambray not to take part with the enemies of the emperor, among whom was the duke of Würtemberg, scrupled thus formally to agree to send subsidies for his assistance, in open violation of that treaty. They hit upon the expedient of disguising the payment of the sum of 125,000 crown dollars, which Francis engaged to supply, under a contract for the sale of Mömpelgard ; the duke reserving to himself the right of re-emption. In a subjoined agreement the king declared that he gave the duke 75,000 dollars as a present. On the 27th of January the treaty was concluded† ; the landgrave set out on his return without delay, and on the 8th of February was again in Cassel. He now lost not a moment in

\* Letter of the landgrave to the elector, Rommel, iii. p. 54., which is remarkable, as well for what he says, as for what he does not say. According to this, the king only offered to negotiate between Ulrich and Ferdinand.

† Notices hereupon in Rommel, ii. p. 298. ; it were much to be wished that the treaty itself were printed.

making his preparations. He hesitated, as may be supposed, to confide his secret to paper; but so numerous were the messages with which he dispatched his confidential councillors, that sometimes he had not one of them left at home; to the elector of Trèves and the elector Palatine he went in person.\* He also took part in the compact concerning the election; but when he sent the ratification of it to the king, he added that he should not wait for the dukes of Bavaria; he was already preparing to go to work by himself.† The king was delighted at the prospects which were thus opened to him. On Easter Monday 1534, he said to an agent of the woiwode, who was with him, that the Swabian league was dissolved; that he had sent money to Germany, and had many friends there, and allies already in arms; that he, Zapolya, would soon be able to dictate a peace.‡

One danger the landgrave had to avert before he openly took arms. The electors who had chosen Ferdinand would perhaps fear that a successful campaign against him might, in the end, prove ruinous to themselves. It appeared very possible that they would be induced by this consideration to take up the king's cause; and indeed a diet of

\* Tellement que luy meme en personne a été contrainct d'aller devers l'archeveque de Trèves et le comte Palatin. Lettre du chancelier du landgrave à Langey. MS. Bethune, 8816, f. 55.

† Sommes déjà près de conduire le tout en effet. Cassel, 9 Mars. MS. Bethune, 8493.

‡ From the interrogations of Casali and Corsini, who were arrested and examined in Hungary, 1535. In the Brussels Archives.



electors was already fixed to be held at Gelnhausen. Unquestionably the chief motive of Philip's journey was, to tranquillise the electors of Trèves and the Palatinate. So far, he said, from thinking of a war on account of the election, the basis for a final accommodation of that matter would now be laid. Bavaria promised that, if Würtemberg was restored to the hereditary house, it would make no further opposition to the election; hereupon Brandenburg, Cologne and the Palatinate promised not to obstruct the landgrave in his undertaking. Trèves even consented to contribute succours.\*

King Ferdinand suddenly found himself in a state of complete isolation.

The emperor was at a distance, the king of France hostile, the pope (as afterwards more clearly appeared) extremely doubtful. The old hostility which had formed the bond of the Swabian league had expired; Duke Ulrich solemnly confirmed the assurances of the landgrave, that the cities had nothing to fear from him. Neither the engagements entered into by the electors at the king's election, nor their religious differences, now operated in his favour. The clergy were as much his enemies as the laity.†

For no German prince could see with approba-

\* Letter of Philip, in Stumpf, Appendix, No. 14. See another of his letters to Dr. Eck, mentioned by Stumpf in the text, p. 153.

† Wolfgang Brandner had already represented the matter very justly to the king, in July, 1533. Bucholtz, ix. 76.

tion an ancient German sovereign house thus despoiled of its inheritance.

The Wittenberg theologians and his own subjects warned the landgrave that he would bring Hessen into danger; he replied, half jestingly, "I will not ruin you this time." He took a wider view of the state of things than they did, and felt himself sure of his cause.

He had to contend only with Ferdinand, — nay, only with Ferdinand's Würtemberg forces; and for these he felt himself fully a match.

Whilst he himself was mainly occupied in collecting a magnificent body of cavalry — the arm in which, in the 16th century, Lower Germany surpassed the rest of Europe — Count William of Fürstenberg, with the aid of Strasburg, assembled twenty-four companies of foot on the Upper Rhine and in Alsatia, where the best landsknechts remained all the winter, waiting to be called into the field. They were from Pomerania and Mecklenburg, Brunswick and Eichsfeld, the Westphalian bishoprics, and the archbishopric of Cologne; while the heart of them was formed by Philip's own Hessian vassals, without question the militia most frequently called out in all Germany at that time; and now not very willing to answer the call. The two bodies met at Pfungstadt, in the Odenwald. On Tuesday, the 5th May, the news arrived that the enemy had also collected a fine army in Stuttgart, and would doubtless appear in the open field. All were in the highest spirits, and eager for the fight. On Wednesday the 6th, just after

midnight, they broke up their quarters. The landgrave, on horseback, with his lance in his hand, reviewed the troops. In their van were the wag-gons with munitions and stores, driven by six thousand peasants, all men capable of bearing arms. Next came a company of light horse, and then the artillery, followed by the great squadron of heavy-armed reiters, under the chief standard, borne by the hereditary grand marshal of Hessen; after them the foot soldiers, both those brought up by the landgrave, and the Oberlanders, to whom Duke George of Würtemberg sent a very considerable reinforcement. There were about 20,000 foot and 4000 horse; an army which, though far from being the largest that had been seen, even in those days, was yet, for a single prince of the empire, and one not even belonging to the first class, numerous beyond all expectation, excellently equipped, and perfectly provided with all things necessary for war. Care had been taken to enlist as many officers as possible of the evangelical faith, which was that of the majority of the common men. It was the first army of a politico-religious opposition to the house of Austria, on the part of Germany and of Europe, that had appeared in the field.

On the other side, the Austrian government in Würtemberg had been arming. Convents of monks and nuns, cathedral and rural chapters had raised contributions, and the cities had paid a war-tax.\* The old commanders of the Italian

\* Spanish report in the Appendix.

campaigns, Curt of Bemmelsberg, Caspar Frundsberg, Marx of Eberstein, and Thamis\*, surnamed Hemstede, had collected bands of landsknechts: we meet again the well-known names of the adversaries of Hessen in Sickingen's wars, — Hilch von Lorch, Sickingen's sons, and Dietrich Spät. The king himself did not appear; his place was filled by Philip of the Palatinate, lieutenant of Würtemberg, — the same, who had distinguished himself at the defence of Vienna. Although the troops were not equal to those of the landgrave in number (they might amount to about 10,000 men, including a considerable number of Bohemians), they had courage enough to wait for him on his way, in the open field at Laufen on the Neckar. They did not even take the trouble to obstruct his passage over the river.

The first engagement took place on the 12th of May. The king's troops sustained the assault tolerably well. Not only, however, was the Count Palatine, their leader, wounded, but the landgrave's superiority became so manifest that they saw they had no chance of making any successful resistance. In the night Dietrich Spät set out to bring up more cavalry. Early in the morning of the following day the army itself sought to take up a more secure position.

But it was not likely that the fiery landgrave would suffer them to accomplish this. In an instant

\* This is doubtless the Von Thönis in the song in Heyd, *Battle of Laufen*, p. 88.

he was in motion. He would listen to no objections ; he saw well what an advantage it would be for him, with his superior cavalry and his good artillery, to fall upon the enemy when dislodged from his position. It was by such a movement that the bands of armed peasants had formerly been routed. The Austrian army had, indeed, experienced landsknechts and brave officers ; but the want of horses brought them into the same perilous situation as that which had proved fatal to the peasants. By a charge of cavalry on their flank, landgrave Philip detained the enemy in a vineyard till his artillery could come up. He then hastened back to bring up the infantry for a decisive attack. But before they could come up, the cavalry and artillery had already combined their efforts with such effect, that the enemy fell into complete disorder, and retreated across the Bidembach. The few reiters that remained escaped to the Asperg ; the foot soldiers were dispersed, and many perished in the Neckar.\*

\* *Neue zeitung von des Landgrafen zu Hessen Kriegshandlung, bei Hortleder, I. vol. iii. c. 12.*, is neither graphic nor correct, especially as to time. Philip's letter to his councillors (Rommel, ii. 319) gives the best account. The other reports, however, are still more useless than the *Neue Zeitung*. Jovius makes out that the count Palatine was wounded on the day of battle ; probably merely for the sake of effect (lib. xxxii. p. 128.). Nicolaus Asclepius Barbatus insists upon the circumstance that the landgrave attacked, "*ea manu quae hostium numero vix responderet.*" It is clear that he could not attack with all his troops at once ; but he had a most decided advantage in point of numbers. Tehtinger gives a kind of general description of "*equitum fremitus, armorum crepitus strepitusque,*" of no value

The landgrave himself was astonished that leaders of such reputation had made so little resistance.

A field of battle is, in general, the place on which the collective forces of two opposite states of moral culture come into collision, and try their respective strength. Landgrave Philip had the most fortunate combination of European circumstances, the secret or declared good wishes of all Germany, and a host of religious sympathies, on his side. Ferdinand had only himself to trust to; he defended a dubious right and unpopular ideas, and he had proved the weaker in the land he possessed.

But this battle is also deserving of all attention on account of its consequences. It decided the fate of one of the most important German principalities. The country fell at once into the power of the conquerors. Duke Ulrich re-appeared after his long absence; the citizens, after ratifying the treaty of Tübingen, did homage to him for his capital city of Stuttgart, in a meadow on the road to Canstadt; the other towns and villages followed their example. Nor did the castles hold out for Ferdinand. Either their commanders were in their hearts inclined to the returning princes of the land; or they feared for their estates, which had already fallen into the hands of the conquerors; or they

whatever. Von Heyd's careful monograph, *Die Schlacht von Laufen*, Stuttgart, 1834, contains a fragment of another letter by Philip, coinciding with the first, and a very good passage from Gabelkofer (*Beil.* iii. v.), which confirm the statement made above, — besides some new landsknecht songs, very interesting and valuable.

yielded to force. Even the Asperg surrendered on the 8th of June.

Thus was Würtemberg once more in the hands of a Würtemberg sovereign. Duke Ulrich's enemies had given him, in derision, the nickname of broom-maker; the other side now retorted the jest, and said that he was come to sweep all the spiders' webs from out the land. The people were delighted to see once more the Hunting-horn\*, after which they had so long yearned; and proclaimed in their songs the happiness of the country that had recovered its native prince. Politically, it was of great moment that a prince, who might be regarded as the most complete representative of the opposition to Austria, was now called to play a part in the centre of Upper Germany. His well-known sentiments left no doubt from the first, as to what his conduct would be in religious affairs.

The behaviour of Pope Clement VII. on this occasion was very remarkable. The ambassador of King Ferdinand implored his assistance in this imminent danger; which, he said, might also become extremely formidable to the Church and to Italy. The pope brought the matter before the next consistory; he repeated the ambassador's words, and even heightened his expressions; but as to the assistance to be rendered to the king, he did not so much as make a suggestion. Hereupon a letter arrived from Ferdinand himself to the pope, and the affair was again brought before the consis-

\* A badge of the house of Würtemberg. — TRANSL.



tory. But the pope chose this moment to revive the emperor's demands with regard to a council, which were so intensely odious to the Curia; the consequence was, that, though the subsidies already granted to the emperor and the king were paid, the proposal for further aid was sent back for the consideration of a congregation. The pope said, the king lay ill of a disease which no slight tinctures or syrups could cure, — nothing less than a violent medicine. Accordingly, the congregation decided that, as it could not grant the king a large subsidy, it was better to grant him none. To the great vexation of the ambassador, the news had arrived, that the landgrave on his entry into Würtemberg had attempted no hostile measure against the churches; whereupon the pope declared that the war was a private one, in which he would not interfere; if the enemy should attack the Church, it would then be time enough for him to think of subsidies. The ambassador remarked, with all the vivacity consistent with his respect for the pope, how important the affair was; how dear it might cost the Holy See, nay, the city of Rome and all Italy. But the pope too was excited and almost angry; he asked, where then was the emperor? and why he had not provided against these disasters? he (the pope) had long ago called his attention to the conduct that was to be expected from the landgrave.\* In short, the pope was not to be moved

\* Bericht des königl. Gesandten Sanchez an Ferdinand, 15 Juni, 1534. (July is probably an error of the copyist.) Bucholtz, ix. 247. All that surprises me is, that Bucholtz fancies

to take any part in the affair — not the slightest. He would wait till he heard of the ruin of the Church before he would do any thing to prevent it ; at present, he regarded the matter merely from a political point of view. The German princes—as, for example, Duke George of Saxony — reproached the pope with being in an understanding with the king, to keep Germany in a state of confusion, in order not to be forced to convoke a council.\*

himself to have disproved the assumption I have here made, that the pope was informed beforehand of the landgrave's intention to take up arms. He has underlined all the civil speeches which the pope made to the nuncio, in order to keep him quiet ; as if any weight was to be attached to such things, and the historian were not to judge from actions. But Sanchez was by no means so devout a believer in the pope as our Bucholtz. He acquaints his master with the course which things are taking, "*ut melius M<sup>s</sup> V<sup>ra</sup> istorum mentes et cogitationes intelligat, quibus technis parent isti rem longius differre.*" He suspects : "*suborta mihi fuit suspectio, S<sup>tem</sup> S. non satis efficaci fervore procedere ;*" he is indignant at the excuses that are made : "*dolore et indignatione assensus replicui, cum tamen reverentia debita ;*" and ends by convincing himself that nothing will be done : "*opinor papam daturum nobis bona verba.*" If I may venture to offer another conjecture with respect to this affair, I would suggest that King Francis I. had really promised the pope that the landgrave's enterprise should have no consequences which might affect the Church ; a condition always made by the kings of France, when they supported the protestants during the Thirty Years' War.

That such a promise could not have been kept, especially in times of such vehement zeal, is obvious.

\* L'empereur au comte de Nassau, 29th Août : Papiers d'état du C<sup>i</sup> Granvelle, ii. 171 : Se sont indignez les electeurs, princes et autres . . . à l'occasion de la responce faite par le duc Georges de Saxen au nunce du pape là où il le touche (le roi) grandement avec le dit st. père de non chercher autre chose que d'en-

Such a state of things seemed to open the most brilliant prospects to the king of France.

On the 18th of June, the victors had reached Taugendorf, on the Austrian frontier. "My friends," said Francis, "have conquered Würtemberg, — only onwards! more!" Meanwhile Barbarossa too had appeared at sea, plundered the Neapolitan coast far and wide, and then fallen upon Tunis, which he captured. He assumed a most threatening attitude towards Spain, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter. Francis I. thought that the emperor, oppressed by the various dangers which menaced his house, would yield to his demands. He demanded Genoa, Montferrat, and a part of Milan, immediately.\* The schemes with regard to Urbino began to be agitated.

In Germany a flame seemed to be kindled which would not easily be quenched.

As soon as the emperor received the news of his brother's defeat, he despatched a messenger with a considerable sum of money, with which to bring an army into the field to chastise the landgrave.† Nothing could better have suited the views of his enemies.

*tretenir la dite Germanye en trouble et s'entendre avec le dit st. père pour empescher le concille.*

\* This appears from the Instructions of the emperor to the count of Nassau, 12th August, 1534, from which Von Raumer has given extracts in his *Briefe aus Paris*, i. 262. Since then printed in the *Pap. d'état du C<sup>l</sup> Granvelle*, ii. 15.

† We have a minute report on this subject by the bishop of Lunden, who went from one Rhenish court to another, in order to negotiate the matter; 1st August, 1534. Br. Archives.

But in Germany, people were not inclined to allow things to go to such lengths, either on the one side or the other.

The aggressors did not feel themselves strong enough to carry on a protracted war, and least of all would they fight for a foreign interest.

If Francis I. had intended to turn the animosities of the Germans to his own account, they, on their part, had designed to use the French for the attainment of their own ends: that was all.

It was certainly agreed in the treaty concerning the affairs of the election, that neither party should conclude a peace without the other; but, as Philip of Hessen observed, the war in question had not then broken out.\* He had taken care to prevent this before he took up arms. The dukes of Bavaria had remained quiet; the French deposit lay unemployed in their coffers.

The whole question was, whether king Ferdinand could resolve to give up Würtemberg.

He, too, was placed in a very doubtful position. Should he, in order to recover what he had lost, imperil all that he possessed by a better and more unquestionable right? He was told that if he was not ready for battle in a few days, all would be lost. His councillors Rogendorf, Hofmann, and the bishop of Trent, joined in the opinion that he had better determine to give up Würtemberg.

\* "Alldiweil man der wale sachen halben nicht krieget."  
— "All this while there is no war on account of the election business." Philip's instructions to his envoys to the king, Rommel, iii. 65.

A meeting of German princes was already opened at Annaberg, on this and other business.

In order to take part personally in the proceedings, King Ferdinand repaired to Cadan, a little place in the neighbourhood, between Annaberg and Saatz.

He did not, indeed, consent to renounce Würtemberg, absolutely and for ever; for, he said, he had been most solemnly invested with the fief in the presence of the assembled diet — his brother had grasped the banner with his own hand; he could not, and would not, suffer himself to be despoiled of his right. But he consented that Duke Ulrich should take possession of Würtemberg as a sub-fief of Austria, though with seat and voice in the empire.\* With this, Landgrave Philip, and at length Duke Ulrich himself, was satisfied.

In return, the elector of Saxony now declared himself ready to acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans. He did not confess that he had been in the wrong; on the contrary, he demanded that a clause should be annexed to the Golden Bull, laying down such directions for future cases, as might amount to a sanction of his conduct in the present case.† But this reservation did not prevent

\* Letter of George von Carlowitz, in Sattler, iii. Urk, p. 104.

† “Das künftiglich, wann bei leben ains Röm. Kaisers oder königs ain Röm. König soll erwelt, alle Churfürsten zuvor samen beschaiden werden, davon zu reden, ob ursachen genugsam vorhanden und dem Reich furderlich fey ainen Röm. König — zu erwehlen, und wann sie sich da verainigt, das alsdann

him from going to Cadan on the 27th of June, nor from paying to his former adversary all the honour due to a king of the Romans. His adherents, too, to whom his opposition alone had given a legitimate ground for refusing allegiance to Ferdinand, could now no longer withhold it. By degrees all acquiesced.

The ambassador of Charles had just commenced his negotiations on the Rhine against the landgrave, when this intelligence arrived and caused him to suspend them.

Whilst king Francis was daily hoping to hear of further hostilities in Germany, peace was already concluded. From this quarter, at least, he could expect nothing more, calculated to forward his Italian schemes.

On the contrary, it was evident that the landgrave's enterprise, though its success was to be entirely attributed to a concurrence of European circumstances, would nevertheless produce no effect on political relations in general: its results were bounded by the frontiers of Germany; and there

und nicht eher der Churfürst zur königlichen wahl erfordert werde." — "That in future, when in the lifetime of a Roman emperor or king, a king of the Romans is to be elected, all electors should be convoked beforehand to consult about it, whether there be causes sufficient, and whether it be profitable to the empire to elect a Roman king; and when they are there assembled, that then, and not before, each elector should be called upon to elect a king." *Mainzisch-sächsisches Bedenken*, *ibid.* 101.

they were by no means exclusively political, as had been anticipated, but were also of the greatest importance to religion. Some other stipulations were made at Cadan, which eventually contributed greatly to the permanence and stability of protestantism. But they belong to another cycle of events, which we shall contemplate hereafter.



## CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION DURING THE YEARS  
1532—1534.

It is evident that an event like the peace of Nürnberg must inevitably contribute, in a very high degree, to confirm and develop the principle of the reformation, in those countries where it had been established in consequence of the Recess of 1526.

The protestants had not suffered the episcopal jurisdictions to be re-imposed upon them; they thought themselves guaranteed, by the emperor's promise, from further proceedings on the part of the Imperial Chamber; and at the same time from the immediate hostilities of the majority of the States of the empire.

Hereupon the Saxon diet, assembled at Weimar towards the end of 1532, no longer hesitated to ordain the resumption of the visitation of the churches, which had naturally been interrupted at a time when every thing was in suspense.\*

The mass, which in some places had been adhered to, was now entirely prohibited: the few convents that still existed were ordered to adopt the evangelical doctrine, and were forbidden to receive

\* Extracts from the Reports of Visitations, Seckendorf, iii. § 25. Add. iii. The Instructions is dated 19th December, 1532.

novices. A universal sequestration of conventual lands was organised, with the co-operation of the States. Their design was to apply the proceeds to some of the most pressing wants of the country, especially to pay off the public debt; for which they had likewise just granted a tax. But as they expressed themselves very humbly on this subject, and even held out a prospect of re-payment, if necessary\*, the elector insisted with the greater earnestness on the necessity of keeping in view the original purpose of the endowments. The first care was for the parish churches. The idea had originally been, that the parish churches might be provided for out of the small foundations, confraternities, endowments for masses for souls, and, where these were insufficient, new rates, levied upon the communes. But this proved wholly impracticable. The communes — burghers and peasants, as well as nobles — were vainly reminded how much their masses and indulgencies had heretofore cost them; they answered, that times were altered. It was therefore necessary to apply to the parishes a large portion of the conventual property; which, at first, while many monks were still to be maintained, and an expensive administration to be kept on foot out of it, yielded no very large revenue.† It is scarcely credible

\* “Zu einer Fürstreckung und Mithülfe, jedoch dergestalt dass solchs der Notturft und Gelegenheit nach wieder ergänzt worde.” “For a loan and aid, but in such wise that the same be restored according to need and occasion.” Transactions of the diet at Jena, Erhardi, 1533.

† As an example we will cite the parish of Umpferstedt.

in what a state they were found. But at length the end was accomplished. "With great care, trouble, and labour," says Myconius, himself one of the Visitators, "we brought it to pass that every parish should have its teacher and its allotted income; every town its schools, and all that belongs to a church."\* The visitation now extended to the domains of the princes of Reuss and Schwarzburg. The clergy there showed less refractoriness than ignorance and immorality; it was impossible to retain them, however willing they were to remain; they were almost all replaced by disciples of the Wittenberg school. This metro-

The decree of the visitors was as follows: "Als wir — — befunden das die pfarhe zu Umpferstedt und Wigendorf zur unterhaltung eines pfarhers vast zu wenig hett, so haben wir verordnet, nachdem das Dorf Umpferstedt dem Closter Oberweymar an alle myttel und eygenthümlich zugethan seyn soll, das einem iden pfarrer zu Umpferstedt von gedachtes Closters zu Oberweymar Gutern zugelegt und gegeben werden soll eines yeden Jahres ein Acker Holz samt dem Closterholz zu Drostet, ein Acker oder anderthalb ungefährlich Wisewachs zu Neuendorf und ein halb weimarisch malter korns von Adam Rosten zu Weimar, von beiden Dörfern die Decimation." — "Seeing that we — — have found that the parish of Umpferstedt and Wigendorf hath too little for the support of a priest, we do hereby order and direct that, seeing the village of Umpferstedt is claimed as pertaining and subject to the convent of Oberweymar, every priest at Umpferstedt shall duly receive from the property of the said convent of Oberweymar each year one acre of wood, over and above the convent wood at Drostet, an acre or an acre and a half, more or less, of forage from Neuendorf, and half a Weimar measure of grain from Adam Rosten at Weimar, besides tithes from both villages."

\* Lommatzsch, *Narratio de Myconio*, p. 55.

polis of protestantism was now rather better provided for.\* The old order of things was utterly overthrown, and Wittenberg stood at the head of the new church. From her had emanated the doctrines which had already begun to be rendered imperative on the preachers†; and ordination was conferred by the spiritual members of her university.

This system was also adopted almost unchanged in Hessen, where the original sketch of a constitution of the church, founded on the idea of the commune, as conceived by Zwingli, had long been abandoned. Visitations were held; the parishes were put upon a better footing, as the landgrave boasted, than they had ever been; superintendents were appointed, and divine service was conducted after the manner of Wittenberg. The chief difference was, that the church in Hessen was far richer than in electoral Thuringia and Saxony, which rendered it practicable to make some large endowments. In the year 1532, the convents of Wetter and Kaufungen, with revenues which had been estimated as equal to a small count's fee, were consecrated to the portioning of noble young ladies in marriage. In the year 1533, the houses of Haina and Merxhausen, and, shortly after, those of Hofheim and Gronau, were converted into national

\* Its whole revenue amounted to 2811 g. 11 grs.; to this 1900 g. more were added. Hitherto Luther's salary had been 200 g.: it was now increased to 300 g.

† Knapp, *Narratio de Iusto Iona*, p. 17.

hospitals. Ten monasteries in the upper and lower principalities were gradually incorporated into the university of Marburg, and a part of the revenue of five others devoted to the same purpose. A theological seminary was established, supported by contributions from the sovereign and all the (*Bürger-schaften*) town corporations of the country.\*

In Lüneburg the jurisdictions of Bremen, Verden, Magdeburg and Hildesheim had already been separated. They were now entirely abolished, and the supreme superintendency over all these districts was confided to Urbanus Rhegius. He deemed it his duty to remain in this laborious and not very secure post, although he was invited to return to the Oberland, of which he was a native. His sovereign, Duke Ernest, was his zealous supporter. We frequently see him accompanied by his chancellor and one of the preachers, visiting the monasteries in person and recommending the cause of reform; and, indeed, most of the monks, as well as the prioresses with their nuns, went over to the evangelical faith. Sometimes the priors or canons had a common interest with the duke; for example, in Bardewik, which the archbishop of Bremen wanted to incorporate with Verden. Gradually the Saxon forms predominated here as in Hessen. An annual church visitation was held.†

In Franconian Brandenburg, too, the monasteries

\* Extracts from the Reports. Rommel, i. p. 191. and note.

† Schreiben des Urbanus Rhegius an die Augspurger 14 Juli, 1535, bei Walch xvii. 2507.; See Schlegel, ii. 51. 95. 211.

were successively put under the civil administration. There were still monks in many places, but some of them had taken wives—even here and there an abbot.\* But no fresh elections of abbots or abbesses were allowed: in some cases we find administratrixes, as, for example, Dorothea of Hirschhard, in the chapter for noble maidens at Birkenfeld. An order of chancery was drawn up, according to which the surplus of the revenues of monasteries was to be thrown into a common fund, and reserved for any cases of need occurring to the state generally. All the proceeds of other foundations and benefices that might become vacant were to be applied to the maintenance of parish churches and schools. In the year 1533, an ecclesiastical ordinance was drawn up, in concert with Nürnberg, for the governance of churches and convents.†

All, as we perceive, was yet in its infancy, and nearly formless; a regular and stable ecclesiastical constitution was as yet out of the question. Thus much only is evident,—that the secular authorities generally obtained great advantages over the spiritual.

A portion of the ecclesiastical revenues fell into the hands, either of the sovereign, or of the nobility, or of the community at large. In all the reformed countries a clergy, indebted for its position and importance to the zeal and efforts of the civil power,

\* Report by Cornelius Ettenius, p. 498.

† Lang, ii. 42.

was substituted for one whose rights were exclusively derived from episcopal ordination.

We find a proof how little the laity were inclined to submit to any domination on the part of the new clergy, in the ecclesiastical ordinance of Nürnberg and Brandenburg just alluded to.

The clergy of those districts wished for the re-introduction of the power of excommunication, for which those of Nürnberg formally petitioned; those of Brandenburg were at least not opposed to it, and indeed in their report they adduced arguments in favour of that institution. But they could not prevail. The laity would not submit to this despotism, and, in the publication of the ordinance, the paragraph treating of it was expunged.\*

Wittenberg itself was opposed to it. Luther said†, that public sentence of excommunication ought to be preceded by previous inquiry, and followed by a universal avoidance of the excommunicated: now the former could not easily be conducted; the latter would cause great confusion, especially in large towns. He clearly saw that it was not the province of religion to maintain public order by any coercive measures whatsoever, which properly belong to the state alone. The church of Wittenberg contented itself with refusing the

\* Considerations of the Clergy of the Margravate concerning Church Discipline. Strobel, Miscellaneen, ii. p. 148. Even so recently as in 1741, the worthy Hausmann did not venture to tell what he knew of this matter. Hausmann in Spengler, pp. 55. 297.

† Bedenken bei, D. W. iv. p. 389



sacrament of the Lord's Supper to notorious sinners, without attempting to interfere with the civil relations of society. The preachers condemned vice in the pulpit, and admonished the authorities not to tolerate it.

Nor did the spiritual power achieve any greater conquests elsewhere. In the year 1533 a provincial synod was established in Strasburg, which included various secular elements, together with the spiritual; a commission of the council (which, indeed, had precedence), the wardens of the city churches, the doctors and teachers of the liberal arts. In the articles which it adopted, the office of preventing blasphemy and open scandal was specially committed to the civil authorities\*, whereas the council never would consent to the introduction of church discipline, properly so called. In affairs of faith, they said, nothing was to be effected by commands; as they could not possibly be enforced, the publication of them could only be attended with loss of consideration. The blameless life and conversation of the clergy (each of whom was to be seriously admonished in private), the good example of the higher classes, and exhortations to the lower by the masters of the guilds, appeared to them the only practicable means to the attainment of the object.†

The church was regarded as an institution for

\* The sixteen articles of the synod of 1533. Röhrich, ii. 263., and especially Art. 15.

† Declaration of the council of 1534. *id.* p. 41.

the propagation of religion—not so much outward as inward. Every thing approaching to papacy was avoided. To free themselves from the coercive power of the spiritual body—the exercise of which was most oppressive, while its relaxation was destructive to morality—was the chief aim of the whole movement. And if the people would no longer endure the influence and the spiritual tyranny of the prelates, neither were they disposed to confer analogous powers on the inferior clergy who had abandoned the hierarchical system. The demand for a more rigid church discipline was immediately met by the conviction, that the christian principle ought to act upon the will by penetrating the heart; not to subdue the former by force, nor to alienate the latter by coercion.

While, however, the reformers were busied with these arrangements and considerations, and thought themselves perfectly secured by the concessions of Nürnberg, it proved that this was not entirely the case: the higher clergy of the catholic church were far too powerfully represented in the constitution of the empire, and too expressly supported by the laws of the empire, so easily to abandon their cause.

The emperor, indeed, issued an injunction to the Imperial Chamber from Mantua (6th November, 1532), to stop all hostile proceedings concerning religious matters till his further commands.\*

\* Harpprecht, v. 295. Saxon delegates were sent thither to carry on the business. Schreiben von Planitz, Mantua, 7th Dec. They received through Held this answer: “Und so weit die

A great number of prosecutions of that kind were already begun. Accusations were laid by the higher clergy against Strasburg, Constance, Reutlingen, Magdeburg, Bremen and Nürnberg, as well as against some sovereign princes; among whom were Ernest of Lüneburg and George of Brandenburg. Most of the confiscated property was reclaimed; and occasionally the interest due to a chapter, or an endowment in a town was withheld; or an attempt was made to remove married priests; or to place zealous catholic priests in a protestant city, against the will of its inhabitants.

The protestants thought they were permanently protected by the emperor's injunction. The Imperial Chamber, however, was not of that opinion.

The Chamber was bound to the observance of the Recess of Augsburg; it well knew that the majority had committed the war against protestantism to its hands; and no man, or body of men, will ever willingly surrender functions which confer power. On the other side, could it venture to disobey an injunction of the emperor, from whom its authority was derived, and in whose name its judgments were pronounced?

In this dilemma, the Imperial Chamber devised the expedient of declaring that the pending trials were not affairs of religion, but breaches of the

*Forderungen am Kammergericht und zu Rothweil belangen* that, wüsste sich I. Mt. wohl zu erinnern des Vertrags," &c.—  
"So far as the demands made on the Imperial Chamber and at Rothweil are concerned, his Imp. Majesty was mindful of the treaty," &c.

public peace, and acts of spoliation ; and that the offence charged was, transgressions of the Recess of the empire.

The first case in which this distinction was taken, was in the course of the proceedings concerning the claim of the city of Strasburg to the revenues and jewels of the chapter of Arbogast. The city advocate, Dr. Herter, said, that was indeed the suit against Strasburg, an affair in which all protestants were civilly interested, but that it also concerned religion, and therefore could not be proceeded in, conformably with the emperor's recent proclamation. The bishop's advocate replied, that his gracious master had nothing to do with the protestant body ; that the business regarded things wholly distinct from religion. The protestants said, that a peace of the kind understood by the Chamber could be of no value to them, nor would his imperial majesty have troubled himself to ordain such a one ; the truce included persons, property, and co-dependencies. Nevertheless, they could obtain nothing further from the court than a resolution to ask the emperor for an explanation of his words.

The emperor was still in Bologna, as it were the guest of the pope, and in daily communication with his holiness, when this question was laid before him. He dared not offer a fresh offence to the pope, already vacillating ; nor dared he offend the majority of the states. And yet he could not revoke his truce. He gave an answer dark as the response of an oracle. " The words of our injunc-

tion," says he, "extend only to affairs of religion; what, however, affairs of religion are, does not admit of any better explanation than that which the affairs themselves afford."\* Probably Held, an old assessor of the Imperial Chamber, who had accompanied the emperor to Bologna, was the inventor of this interpretation. Obscure as it is, it leaves no doubt of its tendency. The government wished to confirm the Chamber in the course it had taken.

A commission which visited the tribunal in May, 1533, also admonished the members of it afresh to maintain the Recess of Augsburg, especially in regard to religion.†

Fortified by this double admonition, the Imperial Chamber now knew no moderation. The complaints were received and reproduced; the objection raised by the defendants, that the Chamber was not the proper tribunal for religious matters, made no impression; the accusers charged them with an offence against the imperial authority, the inevitable consequence of which was sentence of ban.

Had the protestants submitted to this, their union would have been totally useless.

They first addressed themselves (according to a resolution of their meeting at Schmalkalden, in July, 1533), to the elector palatine and the elector

\* 26th Jan. 1533. Harpprecht, v. 300.

† "Dem Abschied von Augsburg, sonderlich der christlichen Religion und Glaubens halber, nachzukommen und stracks zu leben."—"To follow the decree of Augsburg, especially touching the christian religion, and to live strictly according to it."

of Mainz, who had negotiated the peace, and who now took part, by their councillors, in the recess of visitation. The electors declared that they could not take this matter upon themselves. Hereupon the protestants appealed to the court itself. As a proof that the pending trials turned upon affairs of religion, they cited the traditional maxim of the church of Rome, — that every thing relating to a benefice is to be considered a spiritual matter. Their sole purpose, they said, in concluding the peace was, to guard themselves from the complaints and accusations of the clergy,—that in consequence of the change of doctrine they were robbed of their usufructs. But besides this, they had been expressly promised that the proceedings at Strasburg should be stopped. They pressed for a distinct explanation, whether the Imperial Chamber would stay the proceedings in compliance with the emperor's commands, or not. The direct answers of the Chamber were obscure and evasive; the indirect — its actions — were perfectly clear. In November, 1533, the guild-masters and council of Strasburg were declared guilty. The city advocate again objected, that it was no longer an affair concerning Strasburg alone, but all protestants; upon which the bishop's advocate asked the judge of the Imperial Chamber, Count von Beichlingen, whether his grace would allow his sentence, given doubtless after mature reflection, to be impeached in so unfair a manner. Judge and court, after a short delay, declared, that if within fourteen days nobody should come to terms on the behalf of the city of Strasburg, judg-

ment would be executed on the demand of the bishop's advocate.

At the same time difficulties were vexatiously thrown in the way of the protestant procurator, Helfmann, because he persisted in taking the oath to God alone, and not to the saints also.

The protestants saw that the concessions they had obtained in the treaty of Nürnberg were, under these circumstances, of no avail to them. Meanwhile they were far from abandoning their claims: on the 30th July, 1534, they proceeded to a formal recusation of the acts of the Imperial Chamber.

The Council of Regency was abolished; the emperor at a distance; King Ferdinand not yet secure of the allegiance of his subjects, and the administrative powers which the emperor had committed to him, very imperfectly recognised. To all these elements of disorder was now added, that the authority of the tribunal which was the sole remaining representative of the unity of the empire, was repugned by a large portion of the States.

It is obvious how much these troubles tended to heighten the discontent which the rapid success of Landgrave Philip in his Würtemberg campaign had already seriously aggravated.

They were accordingly among the most important subjects of discussion at Annaberg and Cadan.

One main inducement for the elector of Saxony to give way as to the election was, that King Ferdinand, from whom hitherto nothing could be expected but a hostile influence on the Chamber, now bound himself, "seeing that a misunderstanding



had arisen concerning the peace of Nürnberg," to bring about an abandonment of the proceedings commenced against those included in that treaty. These words must be well weighed. The admission that a misunderstanding had arisen ; the promise of a complete stop to proceedings, were clearly intended to silence, as far as it lay in the king's power, the cavils of the Imperial Chamber. So the protestants understood it.\* We do not know the injunction which the king hereupon issued to the Imperial Chamber ; but it is the fact, that we find no complaint of any further proceedings of that tribunal.

The benefit of the truce extended, of course, only to those who were included by name in the peace of Nürnberg. But another point was determined at Cadan which tended materially to the spread of protestantism.

King Ferdinand had at first not only wished to bind the duke of Würtemberg by the terms of the peace, to receive his country as a fief held of him,

\* Saxon Memorial to the congress at Vienna, 1535. The pretext of the Imperial Chamber, that it did not listen to any religious affairs, was, according to this, obviated by the treaty ; "Indem das sich K. Mt. verpflichtet hat, obwol uf berürten nürnbergischen Frieden etwas Missverstand, — welcher Missverstand eben des Kammergerichts Gegenfürwendung gewest, — fürgefallen, soll er doch aufgehoben seyn" — "Inasmuch as his imperial majesty has bound himself, although a certain misunderstanding has occurred concerning the above-mentioned treaty of Nürnberg" (which misunderstanding was neither more nor less than this pretext of the Imperial Chamber), "that it should be removed."

but also, to attempt no alteration in religious matters; and an article was actually proposed, stipulating that the duke should leave every body as he had found him in the matter of religion.\* But if Ferdinand obstinately persisted, as we have seen, in the former demand, the elector was equally inflexible in rejecting the latter. It was impossible, he said, that he could ever consent that the Word of God should not be preached according to his own confession and that of his deceased father; he could not obstruct the free course of the gospel; he would not, even were the duke willing; rather would he withdraw his opposition to the election; the article in question must absolutely be erased.† Upon this the duke received the joyful intelligence that he was to remain unshackled as to religion, and have power to take measures for christian order in concert with his subjects.‡ The only restrictions imposed on him were in regard to those

\* That is, without doubt, the meaning of the somewhat obscure words: "Das Herzog Ulrich einen jedern in dem Fürstenthumb Wirtemberg der Religionsachen halber in dem Wesen wie sie bis uf sein Einnehmen (gewesen), verfolgen, und zuge stellt werden."—"That Duke Ulrich should allow all men in the duchy of Wirtemberg to continue and be established in the state in which they were, as to religious matters, up to the time of his restoration."

† We know these negotiations from a letter of the elector of Saxony to the king. Sattler, iii. p. 129. On the margin, by the side of this article, is written: "Sol aussen pleiben."—"Must be left out."

‡ Through Hans von Dölzk; Letter from Ulrich, *ibid.* 124.

who, being possessed of certain regalia, were not properly to be considered his subjects.

These, then, are the decisions which render the peace of Cadan so important to the cause of protestantism. It is clear that no such result was contemplated in the attempt on Würtemberg; that the protestant theologians hoped nothing, the pope feared nothing, from it. But, concluded by one of the chiefs of the evangelical party, in favour of a prince who during his banishment had imbibed similar sentiments, and ratified under conditions like those we have described, this peace could not fail to bring about a total alteration of the religious state of Würtemberg.

The form which the reformation here assumed was also to a certain extent prescribed by the course of events.

Had the duke's restoration been brought about sooner by one of those political combinations which Zwingli contemplated, it is probable that his views of church government would also have gained an ascendancy in the duchy.

But now, the war having been conducted by Hessen, and the peace brought about by Saxony, after the defeat of the Swiss and the approximation of the Oberländers to the Saxon confession, that result was not to be expected. On the contrary, the duke adopted the form of expression in use since that approximation; he announced that he would tolerate no one who preached any other doctrine than that of the true body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. An article of the peace of

Cadan was expressly directed against the Sacramenters.\*

At the same time he invited Ambrosius Blaurer, one of the most eminent Oberland theologians and an intimate friend of Butzer's, together with the Marburg professor Erard Schnepf, a decided follower of Luther, to organise the church of Württemberg. They began by agreeing on a formula satisfactory to both. Their agreement is a symptom of the gradual consolidation of the unity of the German evangelical church.†

Thereupon Blaurer undertook the reformation of the country above, and Schnepf that of the country below, the Staig.‡ The priests were no

\* Letter to Blaurer, 22nd December, 1534. The addition, "Wie Euch denn selber alles wohl wissen ist," — "As all is known to yourself," shows that Ulrich, from the first, held the same language.

† They both confessed, *Corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, i. e. substantialiter et essentialiter, non autem quantitative aut qualitative vel localiter, præsentia esse et exhiberi in cœna*; a formula, the scholastic fashion of which scandalised many of the evangelical party.

‡ In Schnurrer's *Erläuterungen der W. K. und Ref. Gesch.* it is stated as a fact (p. 127.), that many whom Schnepf sent away as doubtful, went a few miles further and were accepted by Blaurer. Schnurrer refers for this to Füssli's *Epistolæ Reformatorum*, p. 99. There is a letter of Haller to Bullinger, in which the former relates what he had heard from Thomas Blaurer in August, 1534, — consequently at the very beginning of the difference between the two parties; *quam male conveniat Wirtembergensibus ministris* (as the Schnepfians are full of sneers at enthusiasts), *et dum quibusdam de Schnepfio periculum sit, cum ad ministerium apti sint, quum prima prope sit*

longer convoked according to the rural chapters, as heretofore, but according to the secular division of the country into bailiwicks; and after the main points of the evangelical doctrine had been expounded to them, were asked to state what the government had to expect from them. Spite of all the exertions of the Austrian government for the maintenance of the religious edicts, there were still a considerable number even of the priests who joined the evangelical party at the first invitation. In the bailiwick of Tübingen there were seven; the remaining twelve asked for time to consider.\* Under these circumstances the ritual was altered without difficulty. In many places the mass was voluntarily abandoned; in others, it was discontinued according to order. Schnepf instituted a form of the Lord's Supper with which the Oberländer were satisfied.

The monasteries were next taken in hand. Duke Ulrich made no secret of "his intention of applying

*interrogatio de eucharistæ causa, si Lutheranus fuerit, quantumvis alioquin doctus, admittatur, sin minus, rejiciatur et ab Ambrosio recipiatur.* It is clear that Thomas Blaurer speaks of it only as a danger,—a possibility. Jac. Sturm was of the same opinion: "Schnepf schühe die unsern, werde die in Anstellung der Kirche meiden."—"Schnepf is shy of our people, and will avoid them in his appointments to the church." But it remains to be proved whether circumstances really turned out as Schnurrer sets forth.

\* Bericht Ambrosii Blaurers was er mit den Pfaffen Tübinger Umts ausgerichtet. (Report of Ambrose Blaurer what he effected with the priests of the Tübinger bailiwick.) Sattler, iii. App. No. 16.

their property to the payment of the public debt, and the relief of the people from intolerable burdens." As he had been so long out of the country, and had taken upon him Ferdinand's debts to the Swabian league, it is not to be wondered at that he found himself in pecuniary difficulties, for which this was the only remedy.\*

He did not suffer himself to be restrained by the limitations laid down in the peace of Cadan. The Austrian government had led the way; it had asserted the rights of the state over endowments of doubtful sovereignty, and could not make much objection if its successor did the same.

The whole country was thus in a short time transformed. Duke Ulrich had the merit of devoting particular attention to the university. We find many distinguished names among the teachers; the system of stipends adopted in Hessen was introduced with increased effect into Württemberg. Tübingen gradually became one of the most distinguished nurseries of protestant learning.

Württemberg was a conquest of protestantism based on the old hereditary rights of German princes; a conquest of double value, inasmuch as it was achieved in precisely that region where the Swabian league had hitherto obstructed the progress of the evangelical faith.† Throughout the Oberland this now acquired fresh activity; in

\* Schnurrer Erläuterungen, p. 149. No. 1.

† Gassarus, in Mencken, i. p. 1798: this took place "Non sine totius Sueviae pfafforum monachorumque consternatione."

Alsatia, where the influence of Strasburg had not been impaired; in the neighbouring dynastic domains; Markgrave Bernhard of Baden, Count Philip IV. of Hanau, Louis of Falkenstein, William of Fürstenberg (the joint leader in the Würtemberg war), gradually reformed the church in their territories, as did also numerous imperial cities. Scarcely could the news of the battle of Laufen be known, when Michael Kress, the parish priest of Weissenburg in the Wasgau, discontinued the mass (June, 1534); the council concurred with him, and warned the discontented servants of the chapter to quit the town without delay. The greatest impression however was made by the conversion of Augsburg. The reformed doctrine had long been gaining ground there, but the old opinions had still powerful supporters, among whom were the Fuggers; and had any thing been attempted against the bishop and chapter, the law or the Swabian league would have hastened to their assistance. It is obvious however, that a state of things in which the minds of men were daily embittered by conflicting or hostile preaching, was not tenable in a community that pretended to some political weight in the empire; these points of difference now constituted the most important part of public affairs. The evangelical party, which had long been the majority, now took courage, under the political influences of those times, to assert their rights.\* A disputation was proposed to the clergy.

\* Gassarus, *passim*. Stetten 335. Zapf, *Leben Stadions*, p. 82.



As they either entirely refused to enter into it, or would do so only under conditions which the city could not accede to, the greater and lesser council, with the bürgermeister Wolf Rehlinger at their head, passed a resolution, that no more papistical preaching should be allowed; no mass tolerated, except in the church immediately belonging to the bishop. This happened on the 22nd July. Hereupon most of the chapels were closed, a part of the clergy left the city, while another rallied the more closely round the bishop and the chapter.

✓ Analogous motives regarding the internal affairs of the city led, about the same time, to the formal conversion of Frankfurt; though without so marked an influence of political causes.\*

We need not adduce any more facts to show that the new religion, though certainly favoured by the course of political affairs, possessed great independent force and activity; it had prepared the very events which contributed to its emancipation.

It was sometimes sufficiently strong to maintain itself in complete contradiction to what the political situation of the country seemed to require; as for example in Anhalt.

For what could be more perilous for the majority of the Anhalt princes (in whose name one of them,— prince John — had subscribed the Recess of Augsburg), than to retract, in direct opposition to those

\* Kirchner, Geschichte von Frankfurt, ii. 84. I shall revert to both these cities.

powerful neighbours whose favour was absolutely essential to them, — Duke George of Saxony, the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, and the archbishop Albert? One of the brothers, Prince George, was an ecclesiastic, and already prebendary of Magdeburg and Merseburg cathedrals; his prospects seemed bound up with the existence of the catholic church. Yet it was he who contributed the most to the change. He declared that, near as he lived to the birth-place of Lutheranism, he had been deceived as to its true character; it had been represented to him in the most unfavourable light possible; he had been told that good works were forbidden by it, good ordinances subverted, and licence given for all unchristian practices. But he had convinced himself of the contrary. He had found that the holy scriptures were taught conformably with the ancient Romish church.\* He gradually became so zealous and so persuasive in his exhortations to his brothers, that a Dominican friar having indulged in violent language against the use of the sacrament in both kinds, on Holy Thursday of the year 1532, in the pulpit at Dessau, they displaced him, and appointed in his stead Nicholas Hausmann, a friend of Luther. Duke George of Saxony instantly threatened them with the emperor's displeasure; he predicted the utter failure of their attempts, and the ruin of Prince George's prospects in the church; but he made no impression upon them either by

\* Letter from George to the emperor, in *Fürst Georgs Schriften und Predigten* (Prince George's Writings and Sermons), p. 368.

representations of this kind, or by his doctrinal arguments.\* They went on fearlessly. The circumstance, that a member of the reigning house also held a high office in the diocese, was of great importance. As archdeacon and prebendary of the church of Magdeburg, Prince George deemed himself entitled to exercise a regular spiritual authority in his dominions. In virtue of this combined spiritual and temporal power, he convoked the clergy of the Anhalt country on the 16th March, 1534, and admonished them in future to administer the Lord's Supper in both kinds.† The archbishop cardinal was dissatisfied, as may be imagined; but Prince George insisted that the spiritual jurisdiction belonged in the first place to him, as archdeacon; while the archiepiscopal superintendence remained with the cardinal. Spite of all opposition, he gradually filled the benefices south of the Elbe with disciples of Luther. But when the reform was about to begin in the country on the other side, within the jurisdiction of the bishop of Brandenburg, matters were altered. At first Prince George re-

\* Letter of Prince Joachim to George, Fürst Georgs Schriften und Predigten, p. 384. Luther rejoices at this commencement, "*Etiamsi id factum non sit sine gravi periculo, magnis principibus contrarium suadentibus, insuper etiam minantibus.*" Letter to the three brothers John, Joachim, and George, in Lindner's *Mittheilungen aus der Anhaltischen Geschichte* (Communications from the History of Anhalt), part ii., which contains some letters wanting in DeWette.

† Instructions to the envoys of John and Joachim of Anhalt to the Archbishop. (Dessau Archives).

quested the bishop to ordain whatever priests he might send him. But as the latter naturally refused to admit married priests into the catholic church, Prince George no longer hesitated to send his candidates to Wittenberg, where Luther examined them, and, if he found them attached to pure and sound doctrine, gave them a certificate and ordained them.

It was fortunate that things any where took so peaceful a course.

In other parts, as for example in Pomerania, there were the most violent intestine struggles. Indeed there had always been peculiar exasperation between parties in that country. In some of the towns there had been iconoclastic riots, and with what hatred the adherents of popery required them, may be seen in the satirical songs which are extant. The nobility and clergy of the whole country were leagued against the towns. The two princes, George and Barnim, quarrelled. Even in 1531, the protestants had feared that George would take an active share in the war which threatened them. But Barnim,—the same who had taken part in the Leipzig disputation,—sent word to the league, that what his brother built up, he would pull down\*; that he had wished for a division of the provinces and a separate government, in order that he might be able to support the religious reforms. At this

\* Proceedings at Schmalkalden, Judica, 1531. He declined joining the Schmalkaldic league, "because the domains were still undivided between him and his brothers."

moment, however, Duke George died, and his son Philip, young, eager for instruction, and rather at variance with his catholic stepmother, was more easy to gain over. It is probable that Barnim and Philip, at an interview at Cammin, in August, 1534, agreed to undertake in their dominions what had already been effected in so many others. At a diet at Treptow in the following December, they laid before the meeting a project of a reformation, which was in fact founded on a proposition of the towns, and, with some trifling alterations, joyfully accepted by them. The excellent Pomeranian, Doctor Bugenhagen, was invited to undertake a visitation of the churches in the manner of Wittenberg. But the nobles and clergy raised a most violent opposition. The bishop of Cammin, who had been entreated to direct the changes, utterly refused; the abbot of Altencamp produced a mandate of the Imperial Chamber, forbidding the dukes to make any innovation. The knights were made to believe that a league was in agitation between the princes and the towns, which could only turn out to their injury; and therefore refused to take the smallest share in the reforms.\*

This was, indeed, the state of a great part of Lower Germany. Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who, in 1534, took the sacrament in both kinds, was opposed by his brother Albert, together with

\* Letter of Abbot Johann Huls (8th June), and the Pomeranian Order of Knights (25th October, 1535), in Medem, *Gesch. der Einführung der ev. Lehre in Pommern*, 197. 231.

the greater part of the country. The resistance which the change still experienced in Holstein, appears in a letter of Landgrave Philip to Duke Christian, as to the means of gaining over the nobility. Almost every where we find the chapters and the equestrian order (Ritterschaften) in array against the reforming tendencies of the cities. In Westphalia, especially, the most violent contest had broken out.

The course and progress of things in the cities of Westphalia were the same as in those of Saxony. Lutheran hymns were sung by boys in the streets, by men and women in the houses, first in an evening, and then by day; and Lutheran preachers arose. Here and there a convent voluntarily broke up, as at Hervord, while the priories of monks and nuns which remained adopted the reformation.\* The priest of Lemgo, who had been a steady adherent of John Eck, was at length convinced by the writings of his antagonists, and travelled to Brunswick in order to inspect the nature and mode of the change; he returned an evangelical preacher, and introduced reform into the town. The old Bürgermeister Flörken, who had been a great admirer of the hierarchical system, and held it to be the only legitimate form of christianity, was obliged to yield to the innovators who confuted

\* "Wolte," says Luther, "dass die Klöster alle so ernstlich Gottes Wort wolten beten und halten."—"Would that the convents all would so earnestly pray (*i. e.*, read with devotion), and keep God's word."

the scholastic doctrines out of the epistle to the Romans.\*

There were, however, but two or three places in which the movement was so peacefully carried forward; elsewhere it gave occasion to scenes of violence and blood, especially in Soest and Paderborn.

In the former city the bürgermeister and councillors had been compelled, against their will, to sanction the lutheran preaching, and to adopt the Confession of Augsburg, and an evangelical form of church government.† But since they remained in office, it was impossible to avoid continual irritation between them and the leaders of the evangelical party in the commune. There was a tanner, named Schlachtorp, who was peculiarly odious to them; and thinking to re-establish their tottering authority, at least in civil matters, they seized on the pretext of an excess of which he and two or three others, heated with wine, had been guilty, to arrest him, bring him to judgment, and condemn him and his companions to death. Nobody was prepared for such a sentence—for their only crime in fact was some insulting and irritating language—Schlachtorp least of all, for otherwise he could easily have made his escape. No representation as

\* The other bürgermeister who then resigned was Andreas Kleinsorg, grandfather of Gerhard von Kleinsorgen, who wrote a history of the Westphalian church, of a catholic tendency.

† The catholic clergy were commanded “ut honeste viverent — abolita superstitione tantum;” most of them quitted the city.



to the trifling nature of the offence, no intercession, was of any avail; the day of execution was fixed. In order to protect them in this act, the council entrusted the most loyal of the citizens, who were still in part catholic, with arms. We must accompany the victim to the scaffold. When he reached it, he turned to the multitude of his fellow-citizens of his own opinions, who were assembled in great numbers, though unarmed, and after protesting that he died for the cause of religion alone, he began to sing the hymn, — “ Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin.” (With peace and joy I go hence.) The whole multitude joined in. They were convinced that the unfortunate man was a victim to arbitrary power; but the council wielded the sword of justice, and they did not think themselves justified in interposing. The executioner asked which of the condemned would die first. Schlachtorp craved that honour, sat down upon the chair, suffered his shirt to be pulled off, and presented his neck to the stroke. As fortune would have it, the executioner did not take good aim, and the stroke, instead of falling on his neck, fell on his back; so that Schlachtorp and the chair in which he was seated were overturned, and, though fearfully wounded, he was still living. The other executioner came forward, raised him up, and placed his neck in a position to receive a second stroke. But meantime Schlachtorp had recovered his consciousness; he thought he had given justice her due, and was absolved from all further obligations; though his hands were bound, by a rapid turn he snatched the sword, already again up-

lifted, from the executioner's hand, and grasped it with a strength redoubled by the mortal peril, till he had torn the cords from his hands with his teeth; when he brandished the weapon, crimsoned with his own blood, around him with such force that neither of the executioners dared to approach him. All this was the work of a moment. But in that moment the sympathy of the people, which had been repressed with such difficulty, burst forth. The magistrates ordered the executioners to desist; the crowd carried Schlachtorp, holding the captured sword in his hand, in triumph to his house, where, on the following day, he died from loss of blood and violent agitation. Never was there such a funeral seen as his. Men and women, old and young, evangelical and catholic, accompanied the body, all pressing to see the sword of justice which was laid on the coffin. This incident raised the ferment of all spirits and the exasperation against the council to such a pitch, that the latter thought itself every moment menaced with violence and tumult, and at length deemed it best to leave the town (July, 1533). A new council was then appointed, and the evangelical organisation completed.

The events which occurred at Paderborn also lead us to the foot of the scaffold, though not to witness so terrible a catastrophe. Here, too, the common people had, by violence and intimidation, obtained liberty of preaching, and had already delivered over several churches to protestant preach-

ers; no negotiation of the Landdroste\*, no orders of the diet, had availed to reclaim them. Such was the state of things when the newly-elected administrator of the chapter, Hermann of Cologne, rode into the town at the head of the leading men of the land and an armed retinue, to receive their homage. Hermann was by nature no zealot (we shall meet him hereafter on a totally different path); but the representations of the canons and the council, joined to some resentment at the disregard shown to his authority, at length moved him to a violent step. He once more, and, as he said, in order to take a gracious leave, invited the citizens to the garden of the monastery of Abdinkhoven; on their arrival, they were surrounded with armed soldiers; the leaders of the evangelical party were seized and thrown into prison. They were accused of a design to deliver up the city to the landgrave of Hessen, put to the torture, and sentenced to death in presence of the assembled people, and in sight of the scaffold, already strewn with the sand that was to drink their blood. But things were not allowed to pass here as in Soest. The first executioner declared that they were innocent men, and that he would rather die himself than put them to death. An aged man was heard to call out of the crowd, into which he had crawled, leaning on his staff, that he was as guilty as the condemned, and that he demanded to be executed with them; at the same moment the women and young maidens of the town rushed out

\* A sort of magistrate; high bailiff.—TRANSL.

of an adjoining house with disordered garments and dishevelled hair, and implored, weeping, mercy for the prisoners.\* The tears came into the eyes of Elector Hermann (one of the house of Wied), who, as we have said, loved not deeds of violence; and as he saw that his temporal lords were also moved, he granted the condemned men their lives. But their doctrines were effectually put down. Those inclined to them were kept under strict supervision, and fined at the pleasure of the authorities. A recess was drawn up, by which the new doctrines were forbidden under the severest penalties.†

Such were the conflicting powers in Westphalia : on the one side, spiritual princes, cathedral chapters, knightly orders and city authorities, closely bound together ; on the other, bodies of citizens vehemently excited, and inflamed by zealous preachers ; the one class not less wilful and violent than the other. The former scrupled not to employ their jurisdictional and magisterial powers with the extremest severity to suppress the new opinions ; the other, obedient so long as the strict letter of the law was concerned, were ripe for revolt at any moment when that appeared to be in the least degree violated. The

\* Hamelmann Hist. renov. evangeli 1328 ; here, my chief authority.

† " We will that now and henceforth no strange man or woman, serving-man or maid, who come out of such towns or villages as are attached to the new doctrine, or are accused of the same, be received as servants in our city of Paderborn," 1532, 18th October. Kleinsorgen, ii. 364.

spiritual government, which held together the higher classes by the bonds of a common interest, was attacked by the lower, who rejected its authority, with all the violence of incipient rebellion.

Nowhere, however, did these conflicting elements come into fiercer collision than in the centre of spiritual organisation ; in that place where the word used to denote the convent founded on the banks of the Aa at the time of the first introduction of christianity, had superseded the ancient name of the place and the district, and had become the name of the town and the country — in Münster.

Bernhard Rottman, a lutheran preacher, who had already been driven away, fixed himself again at the church of St. Maurice in the suburbs, and became so popular, that at length the bishop, urged by the clergy of the city, sent him a safe conduct and desired him to go. The consequence of this however was, that his followers in the city itself received him ; they first built him a wooden pulpit in a churchyard, but soon after, rather by the threat, than the actual application of force, opened to him the church of St. Lambert.\* A committee of the citizens was next appointed to defend the new doctrines against the clergy and the council. Other lutheran preachers appeared, and a disputation was held, the object of which was, to show the abuses of the established mode of worship. As they found no able defender,

\* “ So the oldest and simplest report relates. “ *Dorpius Wahrhaftige Historie, wie das Evangelium zu Münster angegangen :* ” “ True history how the gospel was assailed at Münster.”

the sentiments of the people gained influence over the council (which consistent with the ancient constitution of the country, was open to popular influences), and at length obtained a majority. They then proceeded without delay to a final arrangement. At a solemn meeting at the Schauhaus, all the parish churches were delivered up to the newly come preachers, by the council, aldermen (Oldemänner) and guildmasters. The clergy, together with the minority of the council, quitted the city. The religious revolution was, as so often happened in those times, connected with civil changes.

But those who had been expelled were less inclined in Münster than elsewhere to despair of their cause: they found natural allies in the knights (Ritterschaft), and the chapter. Here, too, advantage was taken of the accession of a new bishop, Francis von Waldeck, to excite the whole country against the city. All communication with it was cut off, its rents and the interest of its monies were withheld, and the citizens themselves taken prisoners wherever they were caught. The condition attached to the removal of these oppressive measures was, the restoration of the old religion.

The evangelical party, however, who thought themselves in the right, were not disposed to yield. If force were appealed to, they felt themselves strong enough to resist; and the best opportunity soon offered for striking a blow which must decide the contest.



The bishop had just ridden with the States to receive homage at Telgte, a mile from Münster. The injunction to the citizens, to conform again to the ancient faith, was issued from this place, on the Christmas day of 1532. They instantly resolved what course to pursue. During the following night they marched upon Telgte, nine hundred strong ; partly brave citizens, partly tried soldiers, armed with matchlocks and two or three small cannon, laid on four-wheeled waggons. Fortune favoured them so far that the bishop's mounted posts did not fall in with them. They arrived at Telgte in the grey of the morning ; broke in the gates, took possession of the streets, and found their way into the houses where their enemies were quietly sleeping. They took them nearly all prisoners ; — the princes, councillors, the highest members of the cathedral chapter, and of the equestrian order, together with their own councillors who had quitted the town ; the prince himself, by good luck, was gone ; they suffered the deputies of the small towns to depart, but they carried all the rest—all their old opponents—back to Münster on carts.\* At about eleven o'clock the train, announced by the joyous beat of the drum, re-entered the city in triumph.

\* Instructions and Report of Thanne von Hardt, Marshal of Münster in the Cleves Records, Düsseldorf Archives. Negotiations and attack as already related : “ Alsdann etlich unser gewaltigen Herren von Münster, desgleichen rede, verordente, eins Domcapitels und der Ritterschap, ok somige ander des



The people thus for the present attained their end. The bishop could not make a regular attack upon them; for even had he had the means, he would have been restrained by fear of the vengeance the citizens might take on the prisoners in their hands. The anxious families of these prisoners now endeavoured to put an end to the hostilities they themselves had excited.\* By the mediation of Hessen, a peace was at length concluded in February, 1533; according to the terms of which, liberty to follow the Confession of Augsburg, both as to ceremonies and preaching, was guaranteed to the city for its six parish churches; while, on the other hand, the citizens were to permit the exiles to return, and allow the ancient ritual to subsist for the bishop, chapter and monastery. The landgrave as mediator, the bishop and chapter, the delegates of the order of knights (among whom were a Raesfeld, two Drostes, and a Büren) and the councillors of the cities, signed the treaty of peace. All

Adels, ok somige von den Stedten gefenglich genummen."—"Then certain of our powerful lords of Münster, the council of the same, the delegates from the chapter of the cathedral and the order of knights, and some of the nobles and some of the citizens were taken prisoners."

\* Letter of Bishop Francis (after confirmation), 17th Jan. 33., "sind wir durch etzliche Grafen auch ein trefflichen Adel und Verwandte, sunderlich den von Buern und Mengersheim umb Erlösung derselben die also in unserm Dienst niederge-lacht, sehr heftig angesoicht."—"We are very vehemently solicited by certain counts, also excellent nobles and kinsmen, especially by them of Buern and Mengersheim, for the liberation of those who have thus succumbed in our service."

seemed now set at rest. The bishop appeared in the city, and received the homage; an evangelical church ordinance was published, in which a provision was made for the poor, and negotiations were opened for joining the Schmalkaldic league.

Had these things remained, says Kersenbroik, the clergy of Münster would have fallen under a yoke never again to be thrown off. We may add, that had these things remained, protestantism would now be the prevalent religion of town and country in Westphalia. The neighbouring communes, Warendorf, Beckum, Aalen, Coesfeld, already imitated the example of Münster. The bishop himself, who was not more fixed in his opinions than Hermann of Cologne, would at length have been borne with the stream, and Münster would have decided the fate of Westphalia.

But a signal example was to be given to the world, of the dangers inevitably attending a change in long-established things.

The principle of the reformation was once more in living progress; it was spreading victoriously through all Germany; but for that very reason its effect on the actions, the wants and the passions of men admitted neither of restraint nor calculation. It is true that the protestants had at length acquired a regularly constituted organ, whose legality, and compatibility with the condition and welfare of the empire had obtained recognition, though at first an unwilling and partial one; but even to this the innovators could not entirely adhere. The members of the Schmalkaldic league,

in whose favour the peace had been made, were specified by name; and these did not yet venture to unite with others. The new opinions were compelled to make their way by their own strength; and it naturally followed that they struck into paths deviating from the constituted evangelical church.

At an earlier period of the reformation, the movement in the towns of lower Saxony was with difficulty arrested at the results of its first successes, or appeased by the mere freedom of divine worship according to the new ritual. In Magdeburg, community of goods had been preached under some lingering influences of the peasants' war; and it required as determined a will as that of Amsdorf, who was chosen superintendent of the church of Magdeburg, to assert and maintain the pacific intentions of Luther. In Brunswick, an inclination to Zwingli's views showed itself soon after the creation of the lutheran church-establishment, even among the preachers who had assisted in constructing it; they rejected the organ and singing in parts, and especially certain hymns sung during the communion, expressive of the lutheran view of that institution; but the council of the city, and especially the syndic Levin of Emden, declared themselves against every innovation, and would not suffer any thing at variance with the received ordinances of the church to be devised; doubtless they feared that it would not be easy to set limits to a new movement. We observe similar appearances in Goslar. They arose in part

from the Zwinglians who had been driven out of Brunswick; but here, too, Amsdorf watched over the integrity of the Wittenberg ordinances, and their opponents were driven away.

Movements of a kindred nature, but far more violent, now took place in Münster. The preachers who had arisen during the conflict (of whom the most zealous, Rottmann, now held the office of superintendent) not only betrayed a leaning to the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper, but what (considering the manner in which opinions were at that time implicated) was much more important,—a wide departure even from Zwingli in relation to the other sacrament. Rottmann rejected infant baptism. All the lovers of peace in Münster, all who were satisfied with what they had obtained, were alarmed; the council, democratically as it was constituted, opposed him; a disputation was held, the result of which was, a formal declaration against Rottmann. The university of Marburg too gave in an opinion against him, and certain Hessian theologians came to support the council in its resistance to the innovators. With all this, however, the new council, which had still to contend with the tendencies of the catholic party, was not strong enough to have recourse to energetic measures. Rottmann and his followers remained in the town, and their secret influence was the greater, the more it was openly controlled. They were not inclined to submit to a secular authority, owing its existence to a religious movement which had been headed by themselves.

In this state of things they fell upon the thought of publicly introducing into Münster an element of the general moral and intellectual confusion to which they had already been somewhat inclined — anabaptism. This has frequently crossed our path in the course of our history ; and we have seen how, expelled and persecuted by every legitimate authority, it yet always exercised a resistless power over the minds of men.

The importance of its admission into Münster was by no means confined to that city. It was an event of universal significancy.

The principle of reform, now embodied in a regular system, again saw tendencies rise around it, by which it was, in its turn, threatened with destruction.

If, on the one side, it had established itself on impregnable foundations against the assaults of the ancient church, it was destined to encounter, from the opposite quarter, dangers which at some moments seemed to threaten its very existence.

The arena for the free struggles of the intellect was now thrown open ; it was soon to appear that conquests on that field are neither easy to win, nor to maintain.

## CHAPTER IX.

ANABAPTISTS IN MÜNSTER. CURSORY AND GENERAL  
VIEW OF ANABAPTISM.

AT a moment when the great ecclesiastical institution which for centuries had held all consciences enthralled by ordinances more or less arbitrary, was shaken, partially overthrown and robbed of its influence, it was not probable that the minds of men could be brought again to concur in one positive set of opinions.

The wonder is less that this could not be completely effected, than that it was actually accomplished to so great an extent.

At the moment before us, however, antagonist principles were about once more to come into violent collision.

We saw the resistance that Zwingli, as well as Luther, had to encounter from a third party, which rejected infant baptism. We observed at the same time, that this rejection formed by no means the exclusive point of dissent; but was merely the badge of a party which differed on innumerable other points, and exhibited infinite shades and varieties.

It were well worth while to explore this eccen-

tric state of opinion ; to collect the strange writings in which it found utterance, and to trace out their inward connexion.

So far as I can gain a general view of the matter, it appears to me that there were, in regard to doctrine, two distinct lines of opinion, diverging from the same point.

The dogma of justification occupied the attention of the anabaptists, as well as of their cotemporaries, and gradually led them to the discussion of the questions of the two natures in Christ, and the powers and qualities of the soul. They all adhered to the belief of the freedom of the will (and in that respect were opposed to Luther) ; but they differed in the conclusions they drew from it.

The one party thought the question a very simple one. They held that man could unquestionably earn salvation by virtuous conduct and by his own efforts ; that Christ was rather our teacher and father than our redeemer. This opinion was particularly expounded by Hans Denk, a very distinguished young man,—learned, conscientious and modest ; at least he acknowledged, what scarcely any other of his associates would grant, that it was possible he might err. The basis of his doctrine is, that God is love ; which, he said, flesh and blood could never have understood, had it not been embodied in certain human beings, who might be called divine men, or the children of God. But in one of them, love was supremely exemplified ; — in Jesus of Nazareth. He had never stumbled in the path marked out by God ; He had never lost his



unity with God; He was a saviour of his people; for he was the forerunner of all those who should be saved. This was the meaning of the words, that all should be saved by Christ.\*

Intimately connected with Hans Denk was Ludwig Hätzler; they translated a part of the prophets into German together. Hätzler, however, was not only licentious in his life, but pushed his doctrines to their extremest consequences. He was the first man of that time who denied the divinity of Christ. We are not able to say how he arrived at this opinion, nor by what arguments he maintained it; the book he wrote upon it was never printed, and Ambrosius Blaurer burned the last manuscript copy.

Hans Kautz of Bockenheim, near Worms, put forth similar doctrines. He maintained that Jesus Christ of Nazareth was our saviour, inasmuch as he left footsteps, by treading in which we might attain to salvation; whoever taught more than this, converted him into an idol.†

It is difficult to believe how widely these opi-

\* Passages from his *Buch von der Liebe* (Book of Love), Arnold i. 1305. He was not consistent in his opinions. Oekolampadius (Epp. Zw. et Oec. p. 169.), maintains that he retracted shortly before his death. "Etiam si nec illa purgatissima erant." See Vadian to Zwick, in Füssli, *Beitrage*, v. 397.

† Röhrich *Gesch. der Ref. in Elsass*. i., 338. Zwingli refers to him in the *Elenchus contra Catabaptistas*, in which he says, *Apud Vangiones Denckii et Hetzeri cum Cutiis nescio quibus nihil obscure plenam perlitationem per Christum negant, quod nihil aliud est quam novum testamentum conculcare.*"

nions were diffused. We find them in Salzburg, without being able to trace how they got there. They were professed by a community of poor people who rejected all divine worship, lived together in solitary places, and established confraternities by voluntary contributions; they called themselves Gardener-brethren (*Gärtnerbrüder*). They believed that the desire to do good was inherent in man, and that if he fulfilled the law it was enough; for that God drew us to himself by that necessity of acting justly, which He had imposed on us: that Christ was by no means the fulfiller of the law, but a teacher of Christian life\*;—doctrines of no very profound, but of a perfectly innocuous character. Nevertheless they drew down upon these poor people the most terrific punishment. Some of them being discovered at a meeting in the house of a parish priest, had, without hesitation, given the names of the absent members of their society. Hereupon, they were all delivered up to justice. Those of weaker faith who allowed themselves to be persuaded

\* *Newe Zeyttung von den widdenteufern und yhrer Sect*, 1528. — *New Journal of the Anabaptists and their Sect*, 1528. Appended are 13 articles, “welche sie sur warhaftig halten,” “which they hold for true;” *e. g.* “Es sey ein inniges ziehen des Vaters damit er uns zu yhm ziehe, das sey wenn man lere recht thun von aussen.”—“Sie mögen Guts thun von yhnen selbst wie sie erschaffen.”—“That there is an inward attraction of the Father, whereby he may draw us to himself; that is, if we teach men to do rightly from without (*i. e.* in outward acts). “They may do good of themselves, as they are created to do.”

to recant, were first beheaded and then burnt. Those who refused to recant were consigned alive to the flames. "They lived long," says a contemporaneous account, "and called aloud upon God, so that it was most piteous to hear." In other places they were brought together into the house where they had frequently held their meetings and preached to one another, fastened in, and the house set fire to. "They cried out most lamentably together, and at length gave up the ghost: God help them and us all!"

There was a beautiful girl of sixteen, who could by no means be induced to recant;—for indeed the soul is at that age stronger and more capable of the highest flights of devotedness to a great moral sentiment, than at a more advanced period of life;—it is certain that she was guilty of the things whereof she was accused, but in all other respects she had the consciousness and the expression of the purest innocence. Every body supplicated for her life. The executioner took her in his arms, carried her to a place near where horses were watered, and held her under the water till she was drowned; he then drew out the lifeless body and committed it to the flames.\*

The other party, of whom mention was made, was led to totally different conclusions on the same questions of redemption and justification. They assumed a fundamental separation between flesh

\* *Neue Zeyttung*. In *Zauner's Salzburger Chronik*, v. 119. there are some further notices concerning these priests, &c., although the anecdote above was unknown to him.

and spirit. Instead of holding that man is able of his own strength to do that which is right, and is saved by righteousness, and that this is the doctrine preached by Christ, they maintained, that the flesh alone sinned, and that the spirit was not affected by its acts, since it did not participate in the fall: that the whole man was rendered as free by the restoration, as before the fall, or even more so. Inasmuch as they ascribed this restoration to Christ, they taught that his humanity was of a peculiar nature, that he took nothing of his mother at his birth, but in him the pure word was made flesh, for the flesh of Adam was accursed. These views were also very widely disseminated; there are anabaptist hymns in which they are distinctly expressed.\* It is not improbable that Caspar Schwenkfeld, who also rejected the church, as then constituted, and infant baptism, and denied that the body of Christ was created, contributed greatly to their development.† Melchior Hoffmann, who busied

\* The song, for example, which is inserted in the history and traditions of Münster (*Münsterischen Geschichte und Sagen*), p. 291. The prisoner is there asked whether Christ be of the flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary.

“Das hab ich nie gelesen, hab ich vor ihnen bekannt,  
Wie soll der von Erde wesen den Gott uns hat gesandt.”

“That have I never read, as I confess'd before you,  
How should He have been of earth, whom God hath sent  
to us.”

† Bullinger, writing to Vadian, says of Schwenkfeld, “Hoffmanni dogma de carne Christi coelitus delata primus invenit, etsi jam dissimulat.” Butzer accuses him of the whole of the anabaptist doctrines. *Epp. Ref.* p. 112.

himself so much with these points, was certainly instigated by him. Hoffmann declared himself at first for unconditional election by grace; but he afterwards maintained that every man might be made partaker of grace; those only were lost without hope of mercy, who, having been once enlightened, fell off again from the truth. He proposed to unite all in whom any sign of grace manifested itself, into one congregation by second baptism.\*

Many and still greater diversities showed themselves among the anabaptists in respect of conduct and practice.

Some regarded infant baptism as useless, others as an abomination; some demanded the strictest community of goods, others went no further than the duty of mutual help. Some segregated themselves as much as possible, and held it to be unchristian to celebrate the sabbath; others declared it culpable to follow after singularities. Sebastian Frank, who knew them well, and was even thought to belong to them, gives a long list of divergencies which he had observed among them.†

It was impossible that they should not come into collision with the civil power in various ways.

\* Extract from his *Exposition of the 12th Chapter of Daniel*, in Krohn's *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer* (only concerning Melch. Hoffmann), p. 90.

† *Die dritt Chronika Von den Päpsten und geistlichen Händeln*. (The third Chronicle of the Popes and religious quarrels.) p. 165.

This was obviously the case with those who refused to perform military service, or to take an oath. They esteemed it a crime to take away life under any circumstances whatsoever, and regarded an oath as sinful and forbidden. This could not possibly be allowed in the cities, the defence of which was still entirely confided to the citizens themselves; nor in those, like Strasburg, where the whole allegiance was connected with the oath of citizenship (*Bürgereid*), which was taken on the yearly swearing day (*Schwörtag*).

As we advance, we find others who thought themselves called upon to reform the institution of marriage, on the plea that none was valid save such as was concluded in the spirit. One of this class of reformers was the tanner Claus Frei, who had deserted his wife, and rambled about the world with another woman whom he called "his only true spiritual wedded sister."\*

All, however, agreed in declaring the church government, formed by the combined authority of the magistrate and the priest, insupportable; and maintained that if every body were allowed to preach, there would be no such thing as schism. They declared that the institutions framed by the evangelical leaders were nothing else than a new kind of papacy.

They were persuaded too that these could not last long. One of the most essential points of their creed is, the apocalyptic expectation of a speedy and total revolution and a complete victory,

\* Röhrich, ii. 93. 101.

which Münzer and Storch had fostered. Following their example, the later leaders had also indulged in the most magnificent visions, each on his own behalf, and had contrived to procure belief in them, at least among his immediate friends and followers.

Hubmayr likened Nicolsburg, where one of the house of Lichtenstein hospitably entertained him, to Emmaus; "for it began to be night, and the last days were at hand."

Melchior Hoffmann, a travelling tanner already mentioned, whom we meet with in Alsatia, in Stockholm, in Livonia, in Kiel and in East Friesland,—one while intimately connected with powerful princes, and another, pining in prison,—at length returned to Strasburg. This city, he declared, was destined to be the seat of the New Jerusalem, whence, according to the Apocalypse (c. xiv.), a hundred and forty-four thousand virgin apostles were to issue forth, to gather all the elect of God into the fold.

By degrees the idea of introducing such a state of things by force was agitated.

Hans Hut imagined he could prove out of Moses and the Prophets that the anabaptists were destined, as children of God, like the Israelites of old, to root out the ungodly, to which God himself could call them.\*

In the Würtemberg territory a man named Zuberhans, who was taken prisoner in the year 1528, confessed that he and other true believers had

\* Sebast. Frank, p. 169.



determined to begin the work on the following Easter; seven hundred of them were to meet at Reutlingen, and to proceed immediately to overthrow the government of Würtemberg, to put the priests to death, and to effect a complete revolution.\*

Melchior Hoffmann did not threaten to use the sword himself, but he was persuaded that recourse must be had to it. He had been for a time in personal communication with Frederic I., king of Denmark, and he declared him to be one of the two sovereigns by whom, when the times should be come (for they had not yet arrived), all the first-born of Egypt should be slain, till the true gospel should possess the earth, and the marriage of the Lamb be accomplished. But all his disciples had not his moderation. Some of them were of opinion that the times were actually come, and that they were themselves destined to wield the sword. Thus these opinions very quickly rose from the more strange than dangerous peculiarities of the Quietists (*Stillen im Lande*), to the furious violence of fanatical world-reformers.

Every part of Germany was traversed by wandering apostles of these various sects; no one knew whence they came, or whither they were going. Their first salutation was, The peace of the Lord be with you! and with this they connected the doctrine of a fraternal community of all things. They then went on to discourse of the corruption of the world, which God was about to chastise; and remarked

\* Sattler, Herzöge, ii. p. 174.

that the power He had given to the Turks might be regarded as a beginning of that chastisement. They next turned to the expectation, then very widely diffused, of an impending mystical transformation of all things. Rumours had come from the East of the birth of antichrist, which had already taken place at Babylon amidst signs and wonders; some even said he was grown up and worshipped as a god.\* In the West, the successes of the emperor Charles V. had excited the most extravagant hopes. He was to conquer Jerusalem, and to issue a commandment to put to death every man on earth who did not adore the cross; he would then be crowned by an angel of God, and die in the arms of Christ.† In some places people seriously expected the end of the world, the day and hour of which was fixed. To dreams of this sort the anabaptists attached their prophecies. They declared that the messengers of God who were to seal the elect of God with the sign of the covenant, were already abroad in the world. When the time was come, those who were sealed were to be gathered together from the four ends of the earth; and then would Christ their king come among them and deliver the sword into

\* A letter published in the year 1532 by the Rhodisern; in Corrodi's *Geschichte des Chiliasmus* iii., p. 20. His mother's name was Rachuma (the Merciful). On the night in which he was born (5th March), the sun shone, and disappeared the following day. It rained pearls, which typified the people that had bound themselves by oath to follow him.

† Antonius Pontus, Hariadenus Barbarossa, in *Matthæi Analecta veteris aevi*, i. p. 1. mentions it, "ut vulgatissimum ita antiquissimum verbum divinum."

their hand. The ungodly were to be utterly swept away; but to the elect a new life was appointed, without laws, or authorities, or marriage, in the enjoyment of overflowing abundance.\*

It is evident that the anabaptists proceeded upon principles which leaned on the one side to mysticism, and on the other to rationalism; but they always concurred in the feeling of the necessity for the strictest union, and in the arrogance of an elect people; these combined led to views, at once transcendent and sensual, of the mission of a Messiah. There was no novelty in what they promulgated. These were, in fact, only the same promises which the Talmud held out to true believers among the Jews:—that, at the end of days, all the peoples of the earth should be destroyed, or should become the servants of the elect, who should live in glory, and feast on Behemoth and Leviathan. But such was the universal fermentation in the minds of men, that they produced a certain effect. They addressed themselves not, as before, to peasants, but to artisans. The dark and dingy workshop, where continuous toil still leaves the spirit free for a certain degree of meditation, was suddenly illumined by these notions of a near and blessed futurity;—a dream too intoxicating not to find believers.

\* Der Wiedertäufer lere und geheimniss aus h. Schrift widerlegt, durch Justum Menium. (The Doctrine and Mystery of the Anabaptists confuted out of the Holy Scripture, by Justus Menius.) In Luther's Works, Wittenberg edition, ii. 262.

The German governments of both confessions delayed not to put in force against them all the severity which they were bound by the constitutions of the empire to employ.

The protestants were for a while perplexed: the constitutions of the empire had been declared, at the meetings at Schmalkalden, too severe\*; and they at length came to the resolution not to punish men for their belief, but only for the crime of promulgating insurrectionary doctrines. There is a little book extant, printed at Wittenberg, in which this distinction is more fully expanded; the Berlin copy of it contains notes in the margin, written by an anabaptist, in which he persists in affirming that the anabaptists have nothing to do with the insurrectionary disorders.† But the very difficulty was, to separate tendencies so intimately blended. In Saxony the government adhered steadily to the principle of examining the doctrines taught by each man, and dealing with him accordingly.‡ Landgrave Philip, on the other hand, always leaned to milder measures; he contented himself with keeping anabaptists who openly

\* “Zu geschwinde”—“too hasty.” Recess of the Meeting at Frankfurt. Trinity, 1531.

† Das weltliche Oberkeit den Weidertäuffern mit leiblicher Strafe zu wehren schuldig sey, Etlicher Bedenken zu Wittenberg 1536. The secular authorities are bound to put down the anabaptists by corporal punishment. Some Reflexions at Wittenberg, 1536. In the notes the Maulchristen (Mouth-Christians) are particularly attacked; the evangelical doctrine is not censured.

‡ Melancthon, in Luther's Letters, by Lindner, p. 24.

professed revolutionary opinions in prison. The Oberland governments, supported by his example, declared they would not stain their hands with the blood of these poor people; and in Strasburg children were permitted to attain the age of seven, before their parents were compelled to have them baptized.\*

In the catholic countries, on the contrary, where heresy was even more severely punished than revolt, executions took place in mass. The Gardener-brethren were treated with the same rigour as at Munich; "some were deprived of their limbs, others beheaded, others cast into the Isar, and others burned alive at the stake." Similar punishments were inflicted at Passau, where thirty perished in dungeons.† There are circumstantial accounts of the deaths of George Wagner at Munich, Hatzler at Constance, and Hubmayr at Vienna, who all perished in the flames. How terrible is the cry uttered by Jacob Hutter, when the anabaptists who had sought refuge under the protection of the nobles of Moravia, were driven forth again! "We are in the desert, on a wild heath, under the bare heavens!" Yet even there toleration was denied them.‡

But with all these persecutions the governments did not attain their end,—least of all, indeed, where

\* Sattler, iii. 44. Röhrich.

† Winter, Geschichte der bairischen Wiedertäufer, p. 35.

‡ Missive from Jacob Hutter to the Governor of Moravia. *Annales Anabaptistici*, p. 75.

they were the most inhuman, as in the Netherlands. Here, the Lutheran opinions had, from the first, found very general acceptance; violently as they were repressed, we find a confession, dated in the year 1531, that if coercion were withdrawn, all the people would receive them. It was this forcible repression of the principles of the reformation which prepared the soil for the doctrines of the anabaptists. Jan Matthys, a baker at Leyden and a disciple of Hoffmann, combined with the fanatical and mystical views of religion of his master, the notion that the restoration of all things was at hand, and must be brought about by the sword. He declared himself to be the Enoch who was to announce the things to come; formally established himself as a prophet, and sent twelve apostles to the six neighbouring provinces, who made numerous proselytes and sealed them with the mark of the covenant of the anabaptists. We may trace the progress of Jan Bockelsohn from Leyden to Briel, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Enkhuysen and Alkmar; baptizing wherever he went, and establishing small associations of ten, twelve and fifteen true believers, who, in their turn, propagated his doctrines. In Holland generally, we find a very powerful anabaptist party which started up suddenly in all directions, and sought to conquer a field for the further development of its forces.

It happened that affairs were now in such a state in Münster that people were well inclined to receive them. The apostles of Jan Matthys, who made their appearance there, gained access not only

to the artisans, but also to those very preachers who had been nourished with the marrow of the evangelical doctrine.

#### RISE OF THE ANABAPTISTS IN MÜNSTER.

This was not the first example of such leanings ; Capito of Strasburg betrayed them for a time, though in him they yielded to maturer reflection.

The motives, however, which led Bernhard Rottmann to give himself up to them without reserve were, if we may believe a report originating with Melanchthon, of a very personal nature.

There lived in Münster a certain Syndic Wiggers, from Leipzig, a worthy and honourable man, but married to a woman of very equivocal conduct. Her husband's house and garden were daily thronged with her passionate admirers, among whom was Bernhard Rottmann ; an attachment of the most violent nature was soon formed between them, and at the death of her husband, which occurred soon after, it was commonly reported that she had poisoned him.\* Rottmann immediately married

\* *Locorum communium collectanea a Johanne Manlio excerpta* p. 483. *Habebat conjugem mirabilem, quae coepit insanire amore Rotmanni, quapropter et virum veneno interemit.* In Kersenbroik this is not stated with such certainty. On the other hand, a still severer version of the same story is to be found in the *Postilla Melanchthoniana*. Extracted in Stobel *Von der Verdiensten Melanchthons um die heil. Schrift*. (Of the services rendered by Melanchthon to the Holy Scriptures.) 1773, p. 89.



her. There is no need to substantiate all the rumours that were circulated, in order to explain the coldness and aversion with which every man of decency and honour regarded Rottmann. The consequence of this was, that he strove to re-establish his reputation by excessive severity of manners. He began to discourse on the corruption of the world and the necessity for works of charity, and expressed himself dissatisfied with the state of things brought about by the Lutheran reformation. In dogma too, he continually receded further from the reformers; whether from the influence of the secret emissaries of the anabaptists, or from the suggestions of his own mind, we are not able to discover. After having altered the ceremony of the Lord's Supper\*, he began, as we have said, to impugn the lawfulness of infant baptism. As soon as the number of the anabaptists became considerable, he openly joined them. Rottmann and his colleagues had just fallen into violent disputes with

\* Dorpius, Wahrhafftige Historie wie das Evangelium zu Münster angefangen. (True history how the gospel began (to be preached) in Münster). Sheet C. "Brach semel in ein grosse breite schüssel, gos wein darauff, und nachdem er die Wort des Herrn vom nachtmal dazu gesprochen hatt, hies er die so des Sacraments begerten zugreifen und essen: davon ist er Stuten Bernhard genannt worden, denn semel heisst auf ire sprach stuten."—"He broke white bread into a large wide dish, poured wine thereon, and after he had spoken the words of the Lord at the Last Supper, he told those who desired the sacrament to take and eat; hence he was called Stuten Bernhard, for white bread is called Stuten in their tongue."

the council. They had at first been compelled to give way and to quit the town. What better allies could they have found than the new prophets, whose predictions and doctrines exercised so great and wide an influence? The Lutheran system ascribed great power to the civil government — even to the magistracy of a city; — for the recognition of the independence of the secular element in the state was of its very essence. On the other hand, anabaptism was decidedly hostile to it; its own aspirations after an exclusive despotism were incompatible with any other authority. Nothing could be more welcome to the preachers of Münster, in the struggle they were carrying on. One of them assigns as the motive for the cordiality with which they had received the prophets, that he might predict (“vorwittige” is his expression) that God the Lord would purge the whole country of Münster, and drive the ungodly out of it.\*

The important coincidence was, that the growing anabaptism of Holland happened to find its way into Münster at a point of time when the politico-religious movement had, as yet, no definite aim; and a half-suppressed party was rousing itself for fresh struggles with the existing order of things. The leaders of this party seized upon it, partly from conviction, partly as means to their own ends; and it was thus adopted by a nu-

\* Confession of the anabaptist preacher Dionysius von Diest, surnamed Vynne, in Nieserts Münsterischer Urkundensammlung, i. p. 48.

merous community, amidst whom it could expand all its forces.

At the end of the year 1533, Münster was filled with anabaptists. On the festival of the Three Kings, in 1534, the prophet Jan Matthys appeared with his fanatical apostle, Jan Bockelson of Leyden. A considerable burgher of the city, Bernhard Knipperdolling who, being formerly expelled from Münster, had connected himself with the anabaptists in Stockholm, received them into his house. The two Dutchmen, with their remarkable dress, their enthusiastic deportment, their daring, and yet, to the people of those parts, attractive manners, made a great impression in Münster. Religious opinion was still in a state of violent oscillation, and on the watch for novelty. It was to be expected that women, and especially nuns, would be easily carried away by doctrines which proclaimed the coming of a life of holy sensuality. Seven nuns of the convent of St. Aegidius were baptized at once, and their example was soon followed by those of Overrat. The citizens' wives next went by stealth to the meetings of the baptists, and brought their jewels as the first-fruits of their devotion. Their husbands began by being indignant, and ended by being converted. After the preachers of the city had themselves received baptism, they administered it. Rottmann taught these new doctrines with all the talent and all the zeal which he had before devoted to the cause of the reformation. It was the same voice which had seduced men from the church of

Rome, — the voice which no one could withstand. People said he carried a philtre about him, by which he bound all whom he baptized for ever to himself.

He was soon strong enough to be able to set the council, which had thought to control him, at defiance. Women reproached the bürgermeister for favouring a Hessian preacher, who could not even speak the language of Münster; nuns spoke with scorn in the open market of the Hessian god whom men ate; girls of sixteen cried aloud, Woe to sinners! the journeymen blacksmiths forced the council to liberate one of their comrades who had been imprisoned for preaching.

Nevertheless the anabaptists were not yet masters.

On the 8th of February a tumult occurred, in which, excited by a real or an imaginary danger, they took possession of the market-place; while, on the other hand, the council and the anti-anabaptists invested the walls and gates. It was soon evident that the latter had a great superiority both in numbers and strength, being joined by auxiliaries from the neighbouring peasants and the bishop. They dragged cannon to all the entrances to the market; and many thought that the matter must now be decided, the market-place secured, and the anabaptists, of whom so many were strangers, be expelled. The houses of those who had not been rebaptized were already marked by garlands of straw, as a protection in the approaching pillage. On the other hand,

enthusiasm and fear, courage and danger produced in the anabaptists an exaltation of mind in which they beheld the most extraordinary visions;—a man with a golden crown, a sword in one hand and a scourge in the other; or a human form with gouts of blood dropping from his clenched fist. Or they fancied they saw the city full of lurid fire, and the man on the white horse of the Apocalypse, riding on the flames and brandishing a sword.\* It became a question whether wild fanatics like these should be attacked with artillery; and the Hessian preacher Fabricius, who had been the object of so much contumely, exerted all his influence to prevent it; he admonished those who were prepared for the fight, to spare the blood of brethren. Some members of the council, too, were moved with pity, if not with secret sympathy. They also reflected that they should certainly meet with resistance, and that perhaps, in the universal confusion, the bishop would make himself master of the city. In short, instead of proceeding to the attack, they began to negotiate. Plenipotentiaries were named, and hostages mutually given; at length it was settled that every one should enjoy freedom of

\* *Restitutie des rechten und warrachtigen verstandes förniger article: eine in Münster gedruckte Schrift, aus der Arnold (Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie) die Besluytreden hat abdrucken lassen.* — *Restitution of the right and true understanding of foregoing articles: a writing printed in Münster, of which Arnold (Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie) has reprinted the concluding discourse.* See the Confession of Jacob Hafschmidt, in Niesert, p. 155.

conscience, but should keep the peace, and obey the civil authorities in all temporal things.\* The anabaptists regarded their deliverance (and with justice) as a victory. In one of their writings on the restitution it is said, "the faces of the Christians (for this name they arrogated exclusively to themselves) became beautiful in colour." Children of seven years old prophesied in the market-place. "We do not believe," adds the writer, "that a greater joy was ever known on earth."

And in truth, from this hour, they daily advanced to a decided superiority in power.

They had now, for the first time, acquired a legally recognised existence. Men of congenial sentiments flocked to Münster from all sides; husbands without their wives, wives without their husbands, sometimes whole families together. Rottmann had promised to every man who would repair thither, tenfold compensation for all that he abandoned.

So sudden was the revolution, that on the 21st February, when the election of a new council took place, the anabaptists had the majority. The electors were no longer appointed according to the flesh, but according to the spirit; they were all inspired artisans.

Nor were these men at all disposed to spare their

\* Dorpius, D. iii. : "Das ein jeder solt frei sein bei seinem Glauben zu bleiben, solten alle widder heim, ein jeder in sein haus ziehen, frieden haben und halten."—"That every one be free to abide by his faith, and all shall go home again, every man to his own house, and have and hold peace."



adversaries, or to tolerate their existence near themselves. On the 27th February a great meeting of armed anabaptists was held at the town-house. It began with prayers, which lasted for some time; the prophet seemed to be sunk into a deep slumber; suddenly, however, he started up and declared that such of the unbelievers as would not be converted must instantly be driven out; such was the will of God. He made no secret of his designs. "Away with the children of Esau!" exclaimed he, "the inheritance belongeth to the children of Jacob." Rapacity was combined with enthusiasm. Hereupon the streets resounded with the fearful cry of "Out with the ungodly!" It was on a stormy day, in the middle of winter. The snow, which still lay very deep, began to melt; a violent wind drove the rain and sleet through the air. The houses were broken open, and all who would not abjure their baptism were driven from their homes and hearths. An eye-witness has painted the wretched spectacle of mothers, who could rescue nothing else from their houses, with their half-naked babes in their arms; little children wading bare foot through the snow; old men, who left the city leaning on a staff, stripped of the last penny of the miserable remnant of the earnings of a long and toilsome life.\*

\* Kersenbroik. *Historia anabaptistica* MS.; for it is necessary always to compare the German translation of this work, of 1771, with the original. Mencken's reprint contains scarcely a third of the original, and just the most important things are left out.



The anabaptists were thus not only the masters of the city, but its sole occupants. What their adversaries had scrupled to do to them, they inflicted with fanatical eagerness. They divided the city among themselves ; and communities from different parts of the country took possession of the religious houses. The moveable property of the exiles was collected together, and seven deacons were appointed by Matthys to distribute it gradually to the faithful, according to their several necessities.

The anabaptists would have immediately proceeded to extend their dominion beyond the city, had not the bishop, now supported by the neighbouring princes, encamped around it with a splendid army.

Cleves and Cologne had at first hesitated whether they should merely keep off the infection from their own territory, or render assistance to the bishop. But the consideration, that the landgrave of Hessen might send him succours, and that, in case these were victorious, a change might be attempted in the see under his influence, induced both these western neighbours to follow his example.\* They found that the bishop was ill armed and ill advised ; they saw what danger might ensue if the anabaptists succeeded in gaining over the smaller towns

\* Protocol of a sitting of the council at Berg (Düsseld. A.) "Nachdem zu besorgen, das Hessen mit underlouffen, und vielleicht eine verenderung der stifte gescheen mochte."—"Afterwards it is to be feared that Hessen might interfere, and perhaps an alteration of the see take place."

subject to the see, and they therefore determined to send succours, first of artillery and infantry, and then of cavalry; always, however, under the condition that the see should compensate them for their outlay. The bishop now strained every nerve; fresh taxes were levied, and all the jewels from the churches were devoted to the expenses of the war; the bishop's vassals took the field at their own cost. In April and May, 1534, the city was beleaguered on all sides. If, as it was very well provided with the requisites for war, the allied troops could not flatter themselves that they should immediately reduce it, they at all events attained no inconsiderable advantage by confining the disorders within the walls of Münster.

The matter of immediate interest is, to watch the internal and spontaneous development of this singular phenomenon. We shall see a religious element (such as, under one form or another, had appeared in the ecclesiastical movements of preceding ages,) at work within a narrow sphere, but in complete freedom, and producing the most remarkable results.

#### CHARACTER AND PROGRESS OF ANABAPTISM IN MÜNSTER.

It might be presumed that, from the time the anabaptists were masters of Münster, hardened by success in the narrowness of mind common to sectarians, they would not only tolerate nothing that was likely to oppose them, but even nothing that was

not completely identified with themselves. Accordingly all the pictures and statues in the cathedral and the market-place were destroyed. The almost entire disappearance of the monuments of the Westphalian school of art, which, if in existence, would assert their place by the side of those of Cologne, is to be ascribed to the wanton barbarism with which they were destroyed at this period. Rudolf von Langen had brought back from Italy a noble collection of old engravings and manuscripts, illustrative of the great recent revolution in literature; these were solemnly burnt in the market-place.\* The reformers even held it a duty to destroy all musical instruments. Nothing was to remain but the Bible, and even that subject to the interpretation of their prophets.

Every thing was to be in common among those who had undergone the second baptism. The rule which had been laid down as to the property of the exiles, was very soon applied to the possessions of the faithful. They were ordered, under pain of death, to deliver up their gold and silver, their jewels and effects, to the chancery, for the common consumption. In short, a sort of St. Simonism was established. While the idea of property was abolished, each man was to continue to exercise his craft. Regulations are extant, in which journeymen shoemakers and tailors are specially men-

\* Kersenbroik. In campum dominicum cum incredibilis li-  
brorum multitudo perlata esset, qui etiam ultra viginti millibus  
florenorum valebant, — incomparabilem urbis thesaurum flamma  
subita absumit.

tioned; the latter being enjoined to take heed that no new garment or fashion be introduced. There are also rules for the smiths and locksmiths; in short, every trade was treated as a public charge or office. The most honourable of all these was, as may be imagined, the defence of the country. Even boys were trained to this, and acquired an extraordinary dexterity in shooting with the bow, which was not yet entirely superseded by firearms. Those to whom a special office was committed were exempted from the service of the watch. The whole community formed one military-religious family. Meat and drink were provided at the common cost; the two sexes, "brethren and sisters," sat apart from each other at meals; they ate in silence, while one read aloud a chapter of the Bible.\*

It is obvious that a community so singularly constituted could not consist with the forms of municipal administration, in which the *bürgermeister* and city councillors possessed power and pre-eminence. The prophet Jan Matthys, who devised the new institutions, very soon seized on the supreme authority, which cotemporary writers

\* Kersenbroik, fol. 218. *Ordinatio politici regiminis a 12 senioribus recens introducta.* § 9. Ut in cibis administrandis legitimus servetur ordo, praefecti ejus rei, officii sui memores, ejusdem generis fercula uti hactenus fieri consuevit singulis diebus fratribus sororibusque in disjunctis et disparatis mensis modeste et cum verecundia sedentibus apponent. It appears, indeed, as if this related more particularly to those engaged in the defence.

describe as truly royal — absolute.\* Matthys, however, did not survive the Easter of 1534. At a tumult in which he was foremost — for his fanaticism was not of the cowardly sort — he was killed.

We have already mentioned that he had been accompanied to Münster by Jan Bockelson, surnamed of Leyden, the son of a magistrate (Schulz) of the Hague, and a Westphalian serf woman who had been bought from her husband.† In his wanderings as journeyman tailor, he had been as far as Lisbon on the south and Lübek on the north, and had at length settled in Leyden, near the gate leading to the Hague. He soon grew discontented with his business, and opened a sort of inn, where he and his wife sold beer and wine. It was his great ambition to make a figure in the poetical association which Leyden, like most of the cities of the Netherlands, at that time possessed, called the *Kammer van Rhetoryke*. The flow of his verses (*Refe-reyne*) was the easiest, his scholars were the most distinguished; he wrote dramas, in which he played a part; and it is very likely that he here became imbued with the spirit of hostility to the church which was common to the schools of rhetoric of that day.

\* Hortensius, p. 301. Joannes Matthias hanc autoritatem sibi pararat, ut unus jam inde supra leges esset, unus scisceret, juberetque quae viderentur, antiquas et abrogaret leges, aliasque pro libidine conderet.

† Confession of Jan Bockelson. "His father was called Bockel and was a Schulte (magistrate) in Sevenhagen." It should be Grevenhagen, in which place Kersenbroik was prætor. Bockelson's mother was a serf woman of Schedelich, from Zolke, in the Münster territory.

In this state of mind, anabaptism fell in his way and took complete possession of him. He speedily acquired a tolerable knowledge of the holy scriptures; though, as is usual with such autodidactic artisans, he utterly confounded national and religious elements, and applied whatever seized upon his ardent imagination, with all its accidental circumstances and relations, to the actual world. He possessed an agreeable exterior, natural eloquence, fire and youth\*; even before Matthys' death he played a certain part, and after that event (which he said he had predicted) he took his place. And in boldness at least, he was nowise inferior to his predecessor. The opinion was already afloat that, even in civil affairs, it was our duty to disregard all human laws and ordinances, and to hold merely to the word of God. The public attention was turned upon the new prophet. After he had remained silent some days, "because God had closed his mouth," he at length declared, that there must be twelve elders in the new Israel, as in the ancient, and immediately proceeded to name them.

\* "Doch find ich von jenem in Truck ausgangen, dass er von Angesicht, Person, Gestalt, Vernunft ein redsprech, rahtweiss anschlegig, an Behendigkeit unerschrockenem stolzen Gemüt von künen Taten und Anschlegen ein edel wohlgeschickt und wunderbarlich Mann sey gewesen." — "But I have found from that printed book, that he was in countenance, person, stature and intellect, an eloquent, sagacious, cunning man; of prompt, dauntless, and haughty spirit; of bold deeds and designs; a noble, capable, and extraordinary man." Sebastian Frank, die andere Chronik, 266.

Rottmann, on his side, assured the congregation that such was the will of God, and presented the newly appointed elders to it. The preacher and the prophet now dispensed with all the civic forms of election, and nominated the magistrates. The people universally acquiesced, and accepted them. Six of them were to sit to administer justice every morning and afternoon ; the prophet Jan Bockelson was to proclaim their sentences to the whole people of Israel, and Knipperdolling to execute them with the sword.

It is evident that this was a new step in the progress of visionary religion, or rather of fanatical prophecy. A table of laws was announced, composed exclusively of passages from scripture, especially the books of Moses.

The extravagant abuse to which such an application of scripture naturally leads, soon became evident in other ways.

Jan Matthys had already abandoned his wife, who was advanced in years, and had married a young girl called Divara ; he had persuaded her that this was the will of Heaven, and had brought her to Münster. Jan Bockelson coveted not only the post, but the wife, of his predecessor ; but as he was already married, he put forth the doctrine, that it was allowable for a man now, as well as under the old covenant, to have several wives. At first, the natural good sense of mankind revolted against such a proposition. We may remember that propositions of this kind had been long before submitted to Luther, who had rejected them on the



ground that marriage was a civil ordinance, and therefore must be obeyed. In Münster, arguments of this nature were utterly despised; people insisted on living merely in accordance with the holy scriptures. Rottman preached the new doctrine for several days in the churchyard of the cathedral.\* Things were not, however, come to such a pass, that so crying an insult to good morals and to all honest usage and tradition could escape opposition, even under existing circumstances. All that remained of the old-established citizens, all who were not utterly given over to the new opinions, rallied around a smith of the name of Mollenhök. The watchword of "the gospel" was heard once more; there was a talk of recalling the exiles, and restoring the old constitution of the city, and some of the prophets and preachers were actually imprisoned. But they were now become too strong for opposition; there were too many enthusiastic strangers in the town; and the common people were intoxicated by the doctrine of equality. Mollenhök's party were soon compelled to take refuge in the town-house; and cannon being posted in front of it (partly drawn by women), they waved their hats out of the windows in token of surrender. They ought to have known that this would not save their lives. Never were prisoners more pitilessly treated than these, by men who were but yesterday their "brethren in

\* In a contemporaneous notice in Spalatin's *Annales Reformationis*, p. 302., it is stated that Rottmann also took four wives.

the spirit." Many were bound to trees and shot. "He who fires the first shot," exclaimed Jan Bockelson, "does God a service." The others were beheaded.\*

It was consistent with that fanatical narrowness which acknowledges nothing but its own creed, to punish every deviation from it with death and destruction. Terror is the necessary and invariable offspring of a system of belief which rejects every other. At the proclamation of the table of laws above mentioned, extermination from among God's people was denounced against every man who should disobey them. Above all, woe to him who should call in question the divine commission of the lawgiver! Even Matthys had caused the punishment of death to be inflicted on one Master Truteling, a smith, a man of good repute, who had addressed some disrespectful words to him. We stated that Knipperdolling undertook the office of executioner. He had the power of putting to death any man whom he detected in disobedience to the new laws, on the spot, and without trial; for the wicked, it was said, must be rooted out of the earth. Preceded by four heralds, with a drawn sword in his hand, he traversed the streets carrying terror wherever he went.

\* Ne ex crebris bombardarum tonitruis hostes oppidanos inter se dissidere suspicentur neque tantam pulveris jacturam faciant, decretum est reliquos sexaginta sex gladio ferire, quae poenae executio Knipperdolloingo committitur, qui singulis diebus aliquot pro arbitrio suo productos et tandem ad unum omnes capite plectit, nisi quod propheta interim animi et exercitii causa in nonnullos animadverterit. (Kersenbroik).

But since every thing, however wild and eccentric, must still follow the laws of its peculiar nature, nor can stop in its career till it has displayed its original instincts in the clearest light, this monstrous phenomenon, having vanquished all external opposition, now entered on the last stage of its internal development.

The spiritual power, in conflict with the temporal, had called prophecy to its aid; and had first opposed, then defied, and finally overthrown, the civil authority; it had then driven out or exterminated all its opponents, and had established a sort of government over which it exercised absolute sway. But it had not yet reached its culminating point. Theocracy, being founded on the claim to a peculiar preference and favour of the divine being, has a natural tendency to assume a monarchical form. The chief prophet could not content himself with merely proclaiming the will of the elders to the people of Israel, although they were in fact appointed by him; he conceived the project of becoming the king of that people.

Another prophet who had arisen by his side, one Dusentschuer, formerly a goldsmith, spared him the trouble of announcing his intentions. Dusentschuer declared that God had revealed to him that John of Leyden should be king. The preachers, who always advocated the most extravagant ideas, immediately supported him; indeed John himself afterwards avowed that, without their assistance, he could neither have introduced polygamy, nor established monarchy. He accordingly granted

them a share of his power. After the people had given their assent to his new dignity (every man subscribing his name), he declared that he could not tarry alone in the sanctuary ; the congregation must join him in praying to God for good servants of his house. After all the people had prayed, Rottmann appeared, and read from a paper the names of those who were pointed out by the divine approbation for the highest dignities. One of the highest was himself. He was the president or speaker (Worthalter),—like the presiding bürgermeisters of the free cities ; Knipperdolling, who had frequent fits of prophetic ecstasy, was Statthalter, or lieutenant ; while the king's privy council was composed of preachers and the most eminent of the fanatics. In short, the principle of spiritual fanaticism now attained to absolute sway in this monarchi-theocratic government.

The mystical views which lay at the bottom of the whole anabaptist movement now assumed a more distinct form. The hopes which had hitherto seemed dim and remote, appeared more attainable, more possible to be realised.

The anabaptists deduced from scripture that in the beginning God had created all things good by the word ; but they had not remained good, and God's ordinance now required their restoration by the word. But all things had their course in triads—in three periods. One was to be succeeded by another, so that the past should be eclipsed by the present ; till at length a third

should appear—that, namely, to which there should be no alteration or end.

The first age of the world ended with the deluge. It had now reached its second epoch. God had resorted to various means of turning men to himself; he had sent them Abraham and the prophets, had showed them signs and wonders, had given his written word; lastly, had sent his only son: but all in vain—men would not tolerate righteousness near them, much less let it rule over them; therefore must the wrath of God go forth, even as in the days of Noah, and be poured out upon the heads of the wicked, in order to bring about the third age, and the perfecting of the whole world. This moment was now arrived.\*

Rottmann, in his treatise on temporal and earthly power, viewed the matter from another side; but the tendency of his opinions was the same.

He says, that it was God's will that all men should be subject to him alone, should behave as brethren, and should live quietly and joyfully under him. But in consequence of the fall, the divine government had ceased and an earthly power become necessary. This, however, was in its very nature bad, and was constantly becoming worse. Four monarchies had been ordained

\* Von der Verborgenheit des Rykes Christi, ende von den Dagen des Herrn (Of the hidden Mystery of the Kingdom of Christ, the end of the Days of the Lord), cap. v. Arnold, Kirchen- und Ketzer-geschichte, i. 994. Pity that the last seven chapters were left out, merely for the sake of sparing a few leaves.

by God from the beginning. The first had been likened by Daniel to a beast; but the fourth, or last, was a monster which had not its equal upon earth for blood-thirsty tyranny. But the time of this too was come; its cracking betrayed the nearness of its fall; all its wealth and treasure would become the spoil of the true brethren.\*

He exhorted them to seize the present moment, that it might not be with the christians as formerly with the jews, who did not perceive the time of their visitation.

The objection, that the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, they put aside in their own peculiar manner.† They made a distinction between

\* Rottman, *Von tydliker und irdischer Gewalt* (On temporal and earthly Power), MS. in Münster. Extracts from it, in Jochmus, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer*, p. 188. It is remarkable what a striking resemblance these notions have with those proclaimed by Robespierre, after he thought he had put down atheism. Compare his speech at the fête de l'Être Suprême, 8th June, 1794. "L'auteur de la nature avait lié les mortels par une chaîne immense d'amour et de félicité; périssent les tyrans qui ont osé la briser! Français républicains, c'est à vous de purifier la terre qu'ils ont souillée, et d'y appeller la justice qu'ils en ont bannie." Buchez et Roux, *Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxiii. p. 179. The difference lies only in the religious ideas; the intention—to establish a primitive state of universal happiness—is exactly the same.

† A specimen of their exegesis is to be seen in the Confession of a Deist, formerly a Priest. "Christus spreckt, myn rike ist nicht van duser werlt, heft dusen Verstand: Christus rick ist ein rick der Gerechtigheit und der Wairheit, dat rike avers duser werlt ist ein rike der bosheit und ungerechtigheit."—

a spiritual kingdom, which belonged to the age of suffering, and a corporeal kingdom of glory and splendour, which Christ was to enjoy with his true disciples for a thousand years.\* They were persuaded that the kingdom of Münster would endure until the commencement of that millenium, and ought therefore to foreshow it, and be an image of it. They regarded the siege which they had to sustain as necessary: for the sacrifice must be offered up in the desert; the woman must suffer their strife; the court of the temple must be filled with dead. God, however, would not only avert the arm of force, but would also put his sword into the hand of his people without delay, that they might destroy all that did evil from the face of the earth. "Thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the time is come."†

This was also the mystical reason for their appointing a king over them; for the prophecies referred especially to a king who was to be the lord of all the earth. Dusentschuer called Jan Bockelson king of the whole world.

This young visionary artisan was entirely per-

"Christ says, 'My kingdom is not of this world;' the meaning of which is, that Christ's kingdom is a kingdom of justice and truth, but the kingdom of this world is a kingdom of wickedness and injustice."

\* See the conference of John of Leyden with Corvinus.

† Rev. xiv. This is the reference in the original. But the words quoted are, "Schenket ihr doppelt ein, denn die Zeit ist vorhanden." (Pour ye in double, for the time is at hand). Such differences in the two versions are, however, of very frequent occurrence. — TRANSL.



suaded that the whole future destiny of the world rested on him. He called himself John, the rightful king in the new temple. In his edicts he says, that in him the kingdom announced by Christ was incontestably come; that he sat upon the throne of David.\* He wore round his neck a chain of gold, to which hung the symbol of his dominion, — a golden globe transfixed with two swords, the one of gold, the other of silver, above the handles of which was a cross. His attendants wore the same badge on their green sleeves; for green was

\* One of his laws, given in Latin by Kersenbroik, and with slight differences by Herrsbach, is to be found in German, in the Archives at Düsseldorf. It begins very characteristically. “Kundlich und openbar sy allen Liefhebberen und Tostendern der Warheit, und gotlicher Gerechtigheit, sowol den Unvorstendigen, als in der Verborgeneheit Gottes Verständigen. So und in wetmaten de Christen und ere Tostendere sick under dem Panier der Gerechtigheit als ware Israeliten in dem nyen Tempel in jegenwerdicheit des Richs, vorlanges verseen, durch den munth der Propheten belovet, vermitz (vermittelst) Christum und seiner Aposteln in Kraft des Geistes angefangen und geopenbaret, und nu an Johann den Gerechten in dem Stule Davids gelofflichen und inwidersprechlichen vorhanden, schicken wandern und haben sollen.” — “Be it known and proclaimed to all lovers and followers of the truth and godly righteousness, as well those who understand not, as they who understand the mystery of God: Inasmuch as the Christians and their adherents have sent forth, under the banner of righteousness, as true Israelites in the new temple, in the present existence of the kingdom long foreseen, promised by the mouth of the prophets, begun and revealed by means of Christ and his apostles, in the power of the spirit, and now come in (the person of) John the Rightful, the promised and incontestable occupant of the throne of David.” . . . .

was his colour. Like all upstarts, he loved magnificence. Thrice a week he appeared with his crown and golden chain in the market-place, seated himself on his throne, and administered justice; Knipperdolling standing one step lower, with the sword. When he rode through the town, two boys walked beside him, the one carrying the Old Testament, the other a naked sword: all who met him fell on their knees.\* There were some who expressed disgust at his pomp, and at the number of his wives, to which he was continually adding. "Out upon you!" exclaimed he; "but I will rule over you, and over the whole world, in spite of you!" Even Knipperdolling could not help mixing buffoonery with his terrible functions. He once caused himself to be suspended over the heads of the crowded multitude in the market-place, that he might breathe the spirit into them all. He danced indecent dances before the king, and seated himself on his throne. These men were like madmen; a secret and irresistible consciousness of the untruth of all their wild visions forced itself upon them. Knipperdolling, indeed, had once a serious quarrel with the king, but it was soon made up; Knipperdolling did penance, and all things returned to the track of credulous obedience. In October, 1534, the whole

\* Ant. Corvinus de miserabili Monasteriensium anabaptistarum obsidione ad G. Spalatinum, ap. Schardium ii. 315. Aulam præfecturis ac officiis ita instituerat, ut si natus rex fuisset, prudentius non potuerit: erat enim in excogitandis iis quæ regalem pompam decebant, mirus artifex.

city celebrated the Lord's Supper in the following manner :—Tables were set for all the adult women (who were far more numerous than the men), and for those of the men who did not hold watch on the walls, — four thousand two hundred persons ; John of Leyden and his wife Divara appeared with all their courtiers, and served at the tables ; it was a regular meal. After this they took wheaten cakes, ate of them first, and gave of them to the others—the king the bread, the queen the wine ; saying, “ Brother, (or sister), take and eat ; as the grains of wheat are baked together, and the grapes are pressed together, so are we also one.” Then they sang the psalm, “ Allein Gott in der Höh' sey Ehr ” (To God alone in the highest be honour).\* So far, this ceremony might appear religious and innocent. But mark the sequel. The king thought he perceived at the feast “ one who had not on a wedding garment.” He fancied that this man was Judas, ordered him to be led out, went out himself, and cut off his head ; he believed he had felt himself commanded by God to do this, and returned cheerful and delighted to the feast.†

Of all the phenomena which attended this monstrous delusion, the mixture of piety, sensuality, and blood-thirstiness is the most revolting ; however reluctantly, we must pursue our observation of it somewhat further.

\* Neuste Zeitung von den Wiedertäuffern zu Münster, 1535.

† Dorpius ; “ and he was so pleased with this murder, that he continually laughed.”

There was a woman in Münster who boasted that no man could control her ; this boast had irritated the desire of John of Leyden to have her among his wives ; she lived with him for some time, but growing tired of him, she gave him back the presents she had received from him and left him. The anabaptist king regarded this as the greatest of all crimes, led her to the market-place, beheaded her himself, and kicked away the corpse with his foot. Hereupon all his other wives joined in singing, " To God alone in the highest be honour."

Every thing being overthrown and transformed, and universal equality established, nothing remained, save the self-love and self-will of the visionary fanatic to whom all paid willing homage. In him spiritual pride and sensual desire, frensied enthusiasm and natural coarseness, formed a strange, we might say a grotesque mixture, which is very remarkable, viewed as a psychological product. Freedom was, of course, out of the question, among men who had given themselves up to courses of so horrible and disgusting a character. How frightful is the contrast between the innocence of the little sect of the Gardener-brethren of Salzburg and their delirious depravity !

Yet it rivetted the affections of men ; they fought for it with the intensest animosity.

A woman of Sneek in Friesland, named Hille Feike, who had travelled to Münster to seek, as she said, the salvation of her soul from God's word, felt herself incited by the story of Judith, which she had heard read at table, to follow her example.

She actually set out, on a similar errand, dressed in all the bravery she could collect, with jewels furnished her from the treasury, and provided with a sum of money. But the unusual splendour of her dress excited suspicion. She was taken before the bishop whom she had intended to kill, and being questioned, she confessed her design, and was put to death.\*

On the 30th of August, 1534, the bishop made an attempt to storm the city; but he found it excellently prepared to receive him. A small body of picked men stood in the market-place, ready to hasten, under the king's orders, to those points which were most threatened. Others were posted in the alleys of trees behind the walls. The main force awaited the enemy on the walls; between the men stood women and boys, the latter armed with bows and arrows, the former with large cauldrons, in which, as they said, they were cooking the enemy's breakfast. At five in the morning the great Hessian carronade called the Devil, gave the signal in the camp; the landsknechts moved upon six different points at once, and succeeded in passing over the ditches and stockades; they placed their ladders, and already more than one standard-bearer had planted his colours on the walls. But the besieged had allowed them to come on thus far unmolested, in order to overwhelm them with more certain de-

\* Bekanntnisse Hyllen Feyken aen pyn am Freydag nach Nativitis Joh. Baptistæ.—Pynlig Bekanntnisse Hyllen Feyken am Saterdag na J. B. Niesert, i. 40. 44.

struction. The fire of musketry now poured down among the crowded ranks. The women threw down wreaths of burning pitch on the necks of those who were climbing, or they poured the seething lime which they had mixed in their cauldrons over them\*; the storm was totally repulsed without need of any assistance from those posted in the interior of the city; the inhabitants had displayed military talents and courage which robbed the landsknechts of all spirit for a renewal of the onslaught.

The prince bishop was obliged to content himself with surrounding the city with blockhouses, for which he had to levy a new tax.

The spirits of the anabaptists were naturally raised by so brilliant a victory.

In October, after the communion described above, some of the faithful were charged to go into the neighbouring cities, and to relate the signs and wonders that had been done amongst them. In the

\* Here is another specimen of Kersenbroik's descriptive powers. *Piceas coronas adhibita face incendunt, atque ita fragrantis furculis quibusdam ferreis in ascendentium colla injiciunt, qui horrendis flammis ipsa arma penetrantibus miseris modis excruciatii sorsum deorsumque cursitant majorique motu flammam exsuscitant et frustra chirotecis e crassioribus femorum pellibus ad hoc comparatis ardentia sarta eximere tentant, ita enim fragranti pice et resina contrahuntur ut manus inde retrahere nequeant: tandem quidam eorum proni concidunt, seseque in terra argenti prae intolerabili cruciatu ita volvunt ut herbae circumquaque flammam emarcescerent: hinc magno clamore animam evomunt: alii vero conceptas flammam restincturi in fossas proruunt et pondere armorum depressi subsidunt.*

very hour in which they received these orders, they set out to execute them. They all fell, as was to be expected, into the hands of the bishop's people, and expiated their design with their death.

This however by no means induced John of Leyden to renounce his vast projects.

We may remember that an universal fermentation had seized on the lower classes, especially the artisans, in the German towns; and that the anabaptist spirit took root more particularly among these classes. At this moment we meet with the same appearances in almost every part of Germany. In Prussia, the anabaptists enjoyed the protection of one of the most powerful men in the country, Frederic von Heideck, who was in high favour with Duke Albert; and they even gained over a portion of the nobility.\* Great as was the number of fugitives from Moravia, we still find them there by thousands. In 1534, the Saxon Visitators found the valley of the Werra filled with them, and in Erfurt they avowed that they had sent forth three hundred prophets to convert the world.† In the year 1534, we trace single emissaries in Anhalt, and in Franconian Brandenburg, where people had to produce their baptismal register before they could be admitted to the second baptism. In Würtemberg the duke's hereditary marshal, a Thumb von

\* Baczko, iv. 219.

† Seckendorf, Hist. Luth. iii. § 25. p. 71.



Neuburg, kinsman of Schwenkfeld, gave them asylum for a time in his lands in the Remsthal.\* In Ulm there were threatenings of new opinions bordering on anabaptism, like those of Sebastian Frank or Schwenkfeld; while in Augsburg an anabaptist king actually arose. In Switzerland they were always to be found in the protestant cantons; and as their denunciations were chiefly directed against the bad life of pretended christians, the zealous Haller sought to turn their appearance to account for the purpose of establishing a better church discipline.† In Strasburg many pertinaciously adhered to the belief that Hoffmann would come forth from his prison in glory and splendour; they also added an Enoch to this their Elias. Dreams and prophecies of this kind were rife along the whole course of the Rhine; in Cologne and Treves troops of light cavalry traversed the country to prevent or disperse assemblages of anabaptists.‡ But their stronghold was the Netherlands. In Amsterdam, where a short time before an emissary from Münster had made numerous proselytes, they more than once ventured to show themselves openly. When Count Hoogstraten, the privy councillor of the regent, came thither in October, and endeavoured to introduce some more rigorous measures both against lutherans and anabaptists, a nocturnal tumult arose, which very

\* Lang, ii. 33. Sattler, iii. p. 104.

† Haller and Frecht in Ottius, p. 69. 81.

‡ Potocol of the Council of March, 1534.

nearly led to the most formidable consequences.\* From that time there were incessant rumours of the design of the anabaptists to take possession of the city. Leyden was kept in a constant terror of fires and tumults.† In the beginning of the year 1535, a meeting of nearly a thousand anabaptists took place in the Gröningerland, which the stattholder was obliged to disperse by an armed force.‡ In East Friesland a prophet expressed the hope that the whole of upper and lower Germany would rise, as soon as the king should go forth with his mighty banner. Even those who did not share in their opinions, thought that if John of Leyden could only win a few successful battles, he would find followers enough to convulse the world, as the Longobards or Franks had done of old.§ We have seen that John of Leyden laid claim to the whole world as his property. He once gravely appointed twelve dukes, amongst whom he formally partitioned the world, and in the first place Germany. He treated the neighbouring princes of the empire as his equals. In a letter to Landgrave Philip of Hessen he calls him "dear Phil" (lieber Lips), as the landgrave's most in-

\* Lambertus Hortensius *Tumultuum Anabaptistarum*, liber unus, Schardius *Scriptt. rer. Germ.* ii. p. 306. These Netherland reports are the most important thing in Hortensius.

† Brandt, *Histoire de la Reformation*, i. p. 50.

‡ Letter of the Stattholder of Friesland to the bishop of Münster. Lewarden, 25th January. (Düss. A.)

§ Sebastian Frank, *Andre Chronik*, p. 267.

timate brothers in arms were wont to do.\* He begged him to take up the Bible, and especially to study the lesser prophets; there he would find, as he says, "Whether we have usurped the power and title of king, or whether this matter is ordained of God to some other end."

But before things were ripe for a general and combined effort on their part, the empire was roused to take energetic measures to stem the rising torrent.

PREPARATIONS FOR AN ATTACK ON MÜNSTER.  
REDUCTION OF THE CITY.

The mode in which this took place, may serve as a perfect specimen of the conduct of affairs in the empire generally.

It would have been natural to expect that this triumph of opinions so severely prohibited by all successive Recesses of the empire, in a considerable city, and the new vigour thus given to them in many other places, would have caused the whole empire to arise in its strength to crush a danger threatening to every condition of men.

Yet the affair was left almost entirely to the bishop of Münster and his political friends.

We have seen how their jealousy of Hessen, and

\* 14th Jan. 1535. Printed in the little book: Acta Handlungen Legation und Schriften, so durch Landgraf Philippsen in der Münsterschen Sache geschehen.—Documents of the Proceedings, Legation, and Correspondence of Landgrave Philip, concerning the Affairs of Münster. 1536. sheet ii.

their own danger, had induced Cologne and Cleves to come to the bishop's assistance.

Each of them sent, in the first place, some artillery; though only on the security of the chapter, and under condition that any damage done to the guns should be repaired.

The councils of Cologne and Cleves then had a meeting to deliberate on what was further to be done.

They met on the 26th of March, 1534, at Orsoy, and determined to send the bishop succours of men, but not of money; each prince to send two companies of landsknechts at his own cost. On the 7th of May, at a second meeting at Neuss, they added, that each should also have two hundred fully mounted horsemen before Münster, in readiness for the storming of the city. The duke of Cleves had already commanded his subjects to take no foreign service, nor to permit any one belonging to them to do so, till this matter was terminated.

Meanwhile, the bishop required other aid than that of troops. As the resources of his country were not sufficient, he incessantly pressed for a "brave sum of money" on loan. At first there was an idea of raising him a thousand gulden on security; but as this turned out to be either impracticable or insufficient, it was resolved at a fresh meeting between the council of Münster and those of Cologne and Cleves, at Neuss, on the 20th of June, that each party should contribute twenty thousand gulden — sixty thousand in all —

in order to provide every thing necessary for the assault\*; the bishop however engaging to repay the two other powers, after the conquest of Münster. We have seen, however, the bad success of that enterprise. When the councils met in camp in the beginning of September, they hoped to find the city reduced; they found nothing but the consequences of defeat, and universal discouragement. The erection of the blockhouses took place in consequence of the common resolution of the three sovereigns. They agreed again to raise fifty thousand gulden for that purpose.

But it was sufficiently evident that Münster would never be reduced in this way. They determined, as had been proposed from the first, to apply to the nearest circles and to engage their co-operation.

Cologne belonged to the circle of the electorate of the Rhine; Cleves was head of that of Westphalia and the Lower Rhine. The circles had begun, for the first time, to take an important part in affairs during the last Turkish war; and the princes were

\* “That each prince, Cologne, Cleves, and Münster, should contribute and pay 4000 soldiers, for the support of the knechts who now lie before Münster, and 1000 miners for a month (which gives a sum of 12,000 knechts and 3000 sappers and miners); and also, shall altogether furnish 10,000 Emden gulden, for the purchase of powder; which, reckoning each knecht's and miner's pay at four Emden gulden, together with the actual 10,000 E. g., amount in all to 70,000 E. g., which are equal to 60,000 gold gulden; so that each elector and prince has undertaken to contribute 20,000 gulden.”

now authorized by the Recesses of the empire, to require their co-operation in this matter.

It was first discussed in Mainz, at a meeting of the circle of the electorate of the Rhine. Cologne and Cleves reckoned their outlay, and demanded compensation; and, more especially, that the other states of the circle should immediately share it. But the only result of this was, that in spite of all their resistance, the meeting ordered them to keep up the blockhouses; agreeing, however, to deliberate further on the matter at a general assembly.\*

On the 27th of October, the states of the circle of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia met in a convent at Cologne. As a general meeting was in prospect, they declined voting any permanent succours. But in order to be prepared at any moment to send such as might be demanded in haste, they agreed to raise the same sum of money as a month's tax for the last Turkish war would have amounted to.

Meanwhile the more distant circles, like those of Hessen and Saxony, were invited to join in the deliberations. Saxon councillors met those of Cologne and Cleves at Essen, in the beginning of November; the Hessian, shortly after, those of the Palatinate, Mainz, Treves and Würzburg, at Oberwesel. Their deliberations acquired great earnestness and energy, from their fear lest the bishop

\* Extract from the Recess of Mainz, in the Düss. Arch.  
“The electoral councillors consider of the most useful and profitable way, how other princes and states of the empire, besides their own electoral circle, the circle of the Upper Rhine, and that of the Lower Rhine, and Westphalia, may be induced to take part in this business.”

should apply for aid to the house of Burgundy, which might seize this opportunity to get possession of Münster; for Mary had already asked for succours for that city, from her states in the Netherlands. Rather than this should happen, Saxony bound itself to take an equal share of the expenses of the blockade. Here too ambitious schemes were at work; but mutual jealousy compelled every one to keep within legitimate bounds.

The meeting of the three circles — the two above named and that of the Upper Rhine — determined on at Mainz, took place in December, at Coblenz. They expressed their readiness to bear the expenses of the continued blockade. Three thousand men were to be kept before Münster, and to that end fifteen thousand gulden were to be raised monthly. Count Whirich von Dhaun was appointed commander; four councillors of war, from Cologne, Treves, Cleves and Hessen, were to accompany him, and the troops were to take the oath to the states of the circles.\*

It is evident however that even this was rather a measure of defence against any attack on the part of the besieged, than one at all calculated to effect the subjugation of the city. For this the circles did not think themselves powerful enough; they determined to call the entire empire to their aid.

The course of this affair, as we have already remarked, strikingly illustrates the character of the

\* The Recess of Coblenz is only to be found in Kersenbroik. I sought it in vain in Coblenz and in Düsseldorf.



German commonwealth. The measures necessary to reduce to obedience a city in open rebellion, did not originate with the supreme head of the empire; but the sovereign to whom that city belonged, and his nearest neighbours, were left for a long time to struggle with it unassisted; till the growth of the danger gradually widened the circle of allies, and at length drew the whole body of the empire, though not without partial opposition, into the contest.

One of the first acts that Ferdinand had to perform after his recognition as king of the Romans, was, to convoke a general assembly at Worms on the fourth of April, in conformity with the petition of the three circles.

The States were not, it is true, unanimous; the elector of Brandenburg, for example, maintained that the three circles were able alone to make an end of the anabaptists, and refused to take any part in the measures for that object. But by far the greater number of the States sent delegates. A resolution was passed, to levy one month and a quarter of the last general tax for the empire, on all the States. The amount which this might be expected to produce was not great enough to enable the allied princes to bring any considerable accession of force into the field. The only advantage was, that they were now sure of being able to continue the blockade till they could obtain a decisive result. The appointment of the commander in chief, which had taken place at Coblenz, was confirmed by the imperial authorities; only with the

addition of two councillors to the other four: after the conquest of the city, the emperor and the States were to decide on the course to be pursued with it.

It were superfluous to enter into any minute recital of the deeds of this little army. It is sufficient to say that it succeeded in cutting off all communication with the city, and in reducing it by hunger.

The chief hope of the besieged was, that they should receive help and supplies from the country where their doctrines were the most widely diffused, and whence they themselves had mostly sprung. Zealous anabaptists from the Netherlands had come to see the state of things in Münster, and had gone back and announced the approaching triumphal procession of the king, whom they also acknowledged, and whom they were to accompany through the world. The cry of, Death to all priests and nobles! was revived; with the addition, that the only lawful sovereign in the world was the king of Münster.\* About Easter 1535, they were all in motion. The West Frieslanders took Oldenkloster, not far from Sneek; the Gröningers marched upon the monastery of Warfum; while the Hollanders, many thousand strong,

\* “Slan doot alle Monniken und Papen und alle Overicheit de in der werlt sint, went allenne unse Konink is de rechte Overicheit.”—“Slay all monks and priests, and all sovereigns in the world; since our king alone is the true sovereign.” *Beninga Historie van Oostfriesland, bei Matthäus. Analecta vet. aevi* iv. p. 680.; where some characteristic details are to be found.

crossed over to Overyssel, thinking to meet others of the faithful at the hill convent in the Hasselt country.

It seems as if they had intended to make these convents, whence Christianity had once radiated, centres from which to spread anabaptism over the land, and then to go to meet their appointed king. But the organised and armed force of the provinces was stronger than these irregular bands. The Gröningers and Hollanders were dispersed on their way, without difficulty.\* Oldenkloster, which the anabaptists had possession of, made some resistance, and was not retaken without loss. They afterwards made an attempt to conquer Amsterdam for the King of Zion, and actually got possession of the town-house one night;—though indeed, for that one only.† They did not choose to observe the conditions under which their co-religionists had succeeded in obtaining power in Münster, and ascribed that success to a miraculous interposition

\* *Extraict de ce que Maistre Everard Nicolai, conseiller au grand conseil ordonné à Malines escript à son frere Mr. Nicolas Nicolai. Les Anabaptistes par instigation et messaiges se sont esmeus et rassemblés en nombre de plusieurs mille sur la coste de la mer d'Hollande pour de la neviger au pays d'Overyssel où ils devaient à certain jour prefix tenir communication de leurs affaires dedans un monastere qui s'appelle Bergklooster au près de la ville de Hasselt, &c. Nicolai was gone there expressly to convert them. According to him, there were twenty waggons and three thousand people. He found, however, only five men and thirteën women, whom he soon convinced of their error.*

† *Hortensius Tumult. Anabaptistarum, bei Schardius, ii. 310.*

of God, which they expected to be extended to themselves; and, of course, expected in vain.

The prophet had incessantly encouraged the people of Münster with the hope of the assistance of his countrymen, whom he said, neither sword nor any other deadly peril, neither fire nor water, would prevent from making their way to see their king: but as these prophecies were not fulfilled, some murmurs arose among them.\* By degrees the famine became insupportable. Those of weaker faith began to doubt of the whole matter, and quitted the city. They were at first repulsed by the camp: women with their children were seen sitting in the ditches by the stockade, through which some compassionate landsknechts handed them food; but it was found impossible to drive back whole troops into the city. They presented a spectacle which recalled to their learned cotemporaries the horrors of Saguntum and Numantia. Skeletons covered with a shrivelled skin, with a neck scarcely able to support the weight of the head, meagre lips, and hollow, transparent cheeks;—all of them filled with horror at the famine they had shared and witnessed, and hardly able to stand. But many were still determined “not to flee back to Egypt,” as the king expressed it. They rejected the summons sent them in the beginning of June, by the commander-in-chief, with the indignation of

\* Nie Tydongen en den Erzb. tho Cöllén. (New tidings to the Archbishop of Cologne.) Niesert, p. 198. According to a letter of the commander of the 7th of May, a soldier who had escaped said, there was great distress, the common people murmured, the king with his retinue only sought to prevent an insurrection.

men assured that they have truth on their side. Not that they concealed from themselves that they should perhaps be trampled under the hoofs of the last monster described by Daniel; but they clung to the hope that he would soon be crushed by the corner-stone, and the kingdom be given to the saints of the Most High. They are said to have intended, when all was lost, to set fire to the city, and rush out upon the enemy's guns.

And perhaps it would have come to this, had there not been found a traitor willing to help the besiegers (who had not yet forgotten the disastrous assault of last year) to cross the ditches and walls. If they had only the inner walls and the musketry to contend with, the result could not be doubtful. Those who remained in the city could not be in much better plight than those who had quitted it; the king only and those belonging to his court, — his councillors, friends, the new dukes and governors, and such privileged persons, had sustenance for a short time.\* When the bishop disclosed his plan to the landsknechts, and promised them that the commander, with the nobles and captains, should lead the way, they expressed themselves willing; for they were tired of their straw beds in the blockhouses. The scene before us is a deplorable one;—on the one side wild violent

\* Corvinus ad Spalatinum: Vidi ipse multos ibi libros, quorum detracta coria victum miseris suppeditarunt — immo scio pueros quoque comesos ibi esse, id quod ab iis auditum mihi est, qui in reliquias quasdam capta urbe ejus rei testes inciderunt.

men, hurried away by their dreams into excess and crime, now famished and desperate, yet still drunk with enthusiasm; and on the other, bands of landsknechts kept together with difficulty; sluggish and listless in their movements, and only roused to make a decisive attack when there could remain no doubt of the result. Here was no field for glorious exploits. At the appointed hour, on St. John's eve, 1535, a few hundred landsknechts crossed the ditches where they were the narrowest, and mounted their ladders where the walls were the lowest. They knew the anabaptists' watchword, deceived the centinels, and then threw them over the walls: thus they took a bastion, made their way to the cathedral close, and, without waiting long for their comrades, shouted their war-cry and beat their drums. The anabaptists sprang from their beds and rushed together to defend themselves. The result was for a moment doubtful; but only until the main body of the besiegers pressed in through a gate opened from within. The anabaptists then fought with fury, and did great mischief to the assailants with their musketry; they killed a hundred and fifty nobles and officers, who were in the foremost ranks of the enemy: but it was the struggle of desperation. As the king was attempting to retreat to the strongest bastion, he was taken prisoner. Rottmann resolved to escape the ignominy that awaited him as captive, rushed into the thickest of the fight, and found his death there. A few hundred of them still defended

themselves behind a heap of carriages near St. Michael's chapel, with such bravery, that their assailants determined to allow them to capitulate. It appears that the terms granted were not observed. They were told they should be allowed to go home, and that when the bishop came he would determine what further should be done. It is true, indeed, that he would hardly have spared their lives. But the landsknechts, exasperated by the loss of their comrades, were not to be prevailed on to wait for his coming; they rushed after the people retreating into their houses, and it was almost impossible to stay the slaughter; and this, when stayed, was only succeeded by more formal executions.\*

\* Here, as well as in the account of the conquest of the city, I follow a pamphlet called "Warhafftiger bericht der wunderbaren Handlung der Dueffer zu Münster in Westvalen, wie sich alle sachen nach eroberung der stat und in der Eroberung zuge tragen; die noch vor der Execution des Jan von Leiden geschriben worden, sie hat sein Bildniss in Holz."—"True Account of the wonderful affair of the Baptists in Münster in Westphalia, how all things after the conquest of the city and during the conquest happened; which was written even before the execution of John of Leyden; it has his effigy in wood (engraving)." Kersenbroik, however, relates otherwise: *Donantur vita et positis armis urbe protinus, præeuntibus quibusdam militiæ ducibus, exire jubentur. Cum vero liberum exeundi commeatum impetrassent, multi eorum ad ædes suorum necessariorum forte aliquid inde allaturi sese subducunt atque iter ab aliis ad exeundum paratis sponte sua divelluntur, ubi cum longiorem moram fecissent, jam tuto egressos eodem certe commeatu confisi sine ducibus subsequi contendunt, qui a militibus intercepti mactantur.* I leave every one free to judge,—but this appears to me like a dressing up and apology. The old account above says:—



For, as things now stood, it is not to be wondered at that the entire extirpation of anabaptism was contemplated. Even the women were driven out of the city, and every one who afforded them shelter was threatened to be treated as an anabaptist. No one knew what became of them. Gradually those who had been driven out of the city before, and who formed about a third of the former population, returned; but as even they were not held entirely guiltless, they were obliged to pay a small acknowledgment to the bishop for the recovery of their estates. No one suspected of anabaptism could be re-admitted into the city without giving security to the amount of four hundred gulden. Cleves and Cologne endeavoured to mitigate the severity of the re-action, and especially expressed

“Ward auf beiden partheien so vil gehandelt das ein yetlicher solt wider heim in sein haus ziehen, bis auf die Zukunft des bischofs des gnädigen herrn, dann solt weiter in den sachen gehandelt werden. Darauff ward jenen glauben zugesagt, und zoch ein yetlicher wieder heim in sein haus. Als aber die landsknecht grossen merklichen schaden empfangen — fielen sie mit grimmigen zorn in die heuser und wo sie der einen funden, rissen sies mit den köpfen aus den heusern auf die strassen, howens zu stucken, stechns all zu tod. Kurz demnach ward umbgeschlagen daz man kein mer todtschlagen solt,” &c. — “It was agreed by both parties that every one should go to his own home again till the coming of the lord Bishop’s Grace, and then the matter should be further handled. Thereupon this was trusted to, and every man went to his own home again. But as the landsknechts had suffered great and notable damage, they fell with furious rage on the houses, and where they found any one they dragged him by the head out of the house into the street, hewed him to pieces, or stabbed him dead. Shortly afterwards they slew all around, till there were no more to slay,” &c.

their disapprobation of the plan of building a fortress in the city.\* We shall see, at a subsequent period of our history, what were the plans of these two sovereigns in regard to religion; plans, which they required the bishop to promise beforehand to adopt. A deputation of the empire also demanded the restoration of the city to its ancient rights and privileges. But of this there was not the slightest hope. The bishop, chapter and equestrian order, or nobles (*Ritterschaft*) were, indeed, only preserved from utter destruction by the help of their neighbours; and the army which had won the victory for them had been assembled in virtue of a decree of the empire; but the administration of the empire was very far from having energy enough to take the affair into its own hands. On the contrary, the chapter and nobles seized this opportunity entirely to annihilate the independence of the city, which had long been odious to them. In spite of the intervention of the two powers above mentioned, it was decided to build a fortress in Münster, and even at the cost of the city itself; the half of its revenues were to be applied to that purpose: the commander of this citadel was to be taken from among the nobility of the country, nominated only with the consent of the chapter and body of nobles to whom he was to swear allegiance, and whose commands he was to obey,

\* Proceedings at the meeting at Nuyss, 1535, 15 July. They objected that for this the consent of emperor and empire were necessary; it was contrary to the privileges of the city, and it would be better to raze the walls, and fill up the ditches.

even if the sovereign were present.\* The town council too was for the future to be nominated with the consent of the chapter and the nobles. The city, which had nearly emancipated itself from the yoke of the nobles and clergy, was thus once more entirely subjected to it, as a consequence of the insurrection. The chapter and the nobles got possession of far more power than the prince; as Bishop Francis, who had to encounter their violent opposition, afterwards experienced. The restoration of catholicism in all its rigour followed of course in the train of these events.

Meanwhile the captive king and his councillors, Knipperdolling and Krechting, were already brought to trial. The king was at first full of defiance, treated the bishop with insolent familiarity, jested with those who reproached him with his polygamy, and protested that he would never have surrendered the town, even if all his people had died of hunger. In the first conversation which several Hessian theologians had with him, he manifested the greatest obstinacy. But he very soon requested another conference, in which he said that none of them in Münster had any certain knowledge of the millennium, the clear perception of which had been revealed to him in prison; he now confessed that

\* Kersenbroik gives the *Articuli de propugnaculo*, which are not quite correct in the German re-translation; e. g. § 4. *Neque hic sine capituli et nobilitatis consensu inductorabitur neque exactorabitur*; the translation of which is, "he should neither be appointed nor dismissed without the approbation of the chapter."

the resistance he had offered to the authorities was unlawful, polygamy rash and untimely, and he even acknowledged the obligation of infant baptism.\* He promised, if he were pardoned, together with Melchior Hoffman and his wives, to try to bring all anabaptists to silence and submission. In this disposition he remained, even after he must have known that it could avail him nothing. He confessed to the bishop's chaplain that if he were to suffer ten deaths, he had deserved them all. Knipperdolling and Krechting, on the other hand, were perfectly obdurate: they appeared far less versed in theological questions than John of Leyden, and their convictions being founded on less knowledge, were more stubborn; they persisted in declaring that they had only followed the admonitions of God. They were all condemned to be put to death with red-hot pincers in the market place of Münster.†

Protestants and catholics witnessed the execution which was the result of their combined efforts; but what was already their temper towards each

\* *Gesprech oder disputation Antonii Corvini und Johannis Kymeit mit Johann von Leiden.* Printed contemporaneously at Wittenberg. In sheet G there is a confession of John of Leyden, "mit miner eighene hand ondertekent," "undersigned with my own hand."

† *Des Münsterischen Königreichs an und abgang, Bluthandel und End*; the rise and fall of the kingdom of Münster; trial and execution; *Samstag nach Sebastiani Anno 1536.* The frontispiece represents the tower of St. Lambert's church, with the iron baskets in which the bodies were exposed, that of the king rather higher than the two others. The pamphlet is merely a history of the execution.

other! One of the Hessian divines above-mentioned, describes, in a letter to the court chaplain of Saxony, the delight of the mass-priests at the execution. Some, however, he adds, appeared to want, to complete their satisfaction, that the lutherans should be disposed of in the same manner. The lutherans did not disguise from themselves that, for the present, there remained no hope for the progress of their doctrines in Münster.\*

The effect of this catastrophe on the anabaptists was, that the anarchical principles they had professed, although they still found champions, were gradually abandoned; and the milder form of their opinions remained the prevailing one. This change, it is clear, could be of little immediate avail to them; they were not the less obnoxious to severe and bloody persecution.

This later and mitigated period gave birth to the spiritual songs which have been from time to time republished from their hymn-books. They contain such sentiments and expressions as the following:— They are beset on every side by crafty and malignant serpents; the great dragon hath arisen, and rideth in his wrath through Germany; but they are resolved not to suffer themselves to be frightened by fire or water or sword; they know that God can save his true children, and that He will, in every case, take

\* Corvinus ad Spalatinum l. 1. 318. Tanto anabaptistis iniquior sum, quanto certius comperi illorum malitia factum esse ut vix mutire nunc audeant qui antea veritati erant addictissimi.

care of the soul, even though the flesh should bleed. "The tyrants of the Burgundian court" are arrayed against them; they imprison men and women, and make inquisition into their faith. These, however, display a single and steadfast mind; they will not deny Him who is the eternal good, and they seal their belief in him with their blood.\* Therefore they are thrown into prison. They are happy, for they see themselves surrounded by the heavenly hosts and martyrs; they behold God in the sun of grace, and know that no man can banish them from their fatherland, which is with God. They call to mind analogous events; such as the miracles in the old martyrologies (treating them after their manner).† Lastly, they prepare to lay themselves as victims on the altar, and to be led to the place of execution; the clear fountain of the divine word consoles them with the hope of being made like unto the angels.‡

In Germany, the utmost they could obtain for their opinions, under their mildest forms, was some degree of toleration.

But at the moment of their total overthrow in Münster, many had fled in despair to England.

\* See the *Lied des gefangenen Wiedertäufers* (Song of the imprisoned Anabaptist), *Die zwei Jungfrauen von Beckum*, (The two Virgins of Beckum), "O lieber vater und herzog mild," ("O beloved Father and clement Duke,") in the *Münsterischen Geschichten und Sagen*, p. 277. f.

† See Pura, in the *Wunderhorn*, i. 146., and Algerius, in the same, p. 353.

‡ *Abschied vom Leben* (Farewell to Life), *Münst. Gesch. u. Sag.* p. 284.

Here, amid the storms of the seventeenth century, their whole system of opinions assumed a most remarkable form. For example, a great deal of what is peculiar in the mode of life of the quakers is a mere reproduction of what Justus Menius imputes to the anabaptists.

But the colonies of North America now lay open to them. Those things for which there was no room in a constituted society, where such experiments could produce nothing but disorder and destruction, were practicable in a world where every thing had to be created. In Providence and Pennsylvania the moral and religious ideas of the anabaptists were first developed and reduced to practice.



## CHAPTER X.

## BÜRGERMEISTER WULLENWEBER OF LÜBEK.

THE disturbances created by the anabaptists were not the sole interruption to the regular progress of the reformation in Germany. The source whence these had sprung gave birth to other movements, which, although they took very different directions, threatened to become equally formidable.

A spirit of anarchy and insubordination had prevailed in the towns ever since the beginning of the sixteenth century; and now that the commonalty took so active a part in carrying out the reformation, the religious movement could not fail to be tintured with this democratic spirit.

Nevertheless, respect for established political institutions was a leading principle of the German reformation. In by far the greater number of towns, the lawful authorities kept their place; indeed, there were only two of the larger ones in which the old councils were completely overthrown, Münster and Lübek.

To these two cities, therefore, all restless and innovating tendencies impetuously rushed.

At Münster, where the clergy had always been paramount, attempts were made, as our readers have seen, to establish a kind of socialist theocracy.

A strong moral or intellectual impulse, if allowed its free course, will always set at work the most peculiar powers and instincts of the organisation upon which it acts; now Lübek, the centre of the Hanse towns, had interests of a mercantile and war-like nature; and precisely these were the most powerfully acted upon by the prevailing democratico-religious spirit. The incidents which occurred there were not less remarkable than those in Münster, but of a totally different character.

But in order to understand them, we must first cast our eyes round the theatre on which they were acted.

The first consideration that will strike us is, that the power of the old Hansa rested on two main points; first, the union of all the maritime towns of Germany, from Narwa to Bruges; and, secondly, the ascendancy which the more central of them — the so-called Wendish cities — had acquired over the Scandinavian kingdoms.

In that age Scandinavia was still of the greatest importance to the commerce of Germany. Calculations were published at the time, of the possible products of the mountains of the great peninsula, the plains of the Vorlande, and the surrounding sea; the copper and iron of Sweden; the furs of the northern, and the masts of the southern parts of Norway; the produce of the cattle-breeding and the agriculture of Denmark; above all, the profits arising from the herring fishery, which supplied the whole of northern Germany as far as Swabia and Franconia; and

lastly, the advantages of the command of the Sound.\*

As governments were now continually springing up, anxious to improve the natural resources of their country for their own profit, the northern kings had long been trying to oppose a check to the excessive influence of the cities.

This would not have been of great moment, had not the union between the latter been dissolved. In the private war which broke out in 1427, between the Wendish cities and Erich, the sovereign of the united kingdoms of Scandinavia, the Netherlands severed themselves from the former, obtained peculiar privileges, and followed their own separate interests. Lübek was indeed, in the fifteenth century, strong enough to prevent their acquiring an ascendancy; but it was not able completely to counteract their influence in the East.

When Christiern II., the last of the kings who wore the united Scandinavian crowns, married the sister of Charles V., he was not only intent on securing powerful political allies, but also on gaining a firm support for his commercial schemes in the Netherlands.

We accordingly find that he was assisted in his attempt on Sweden by the Netherlands—especially by the dowry of the Burgundian princess; and

\* *Summarium von allem was die drei Reiche Denemark, Schweden und Norwegen an ware und anderm vermügen; im Archiv zu Brussel.* Summary of all that the three kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden and Norway possess in wares and other property. In the Archives at Brussels.

immediately afterwards, in defiance of all treaties, began to violate the privileges of the Hansa. Hanseatic merchants were detained at Schonen, ships coming from Riga carried off, and new and exorbitant duties imposed. The king's wish was, to emancipate himself completely from Lübek, and to raise Copenhagen to be the great emporium of the trade of the North. The Hanse Towns were fully persuaded that the king, contrary to all he had signed and sealed and sworn, aimed at nothing less than the ruin of the maritime towns.

The gallant resistance made by Lübek is well known. It was she who sent to Sweden Gustavus Vasa, the enemy and rival before whom Christiern's star paled, and supported him with all her might. When Stockholm surrendered to him, the keys of that city were presented to the two town-councillors who accompanied the Lübek fleet; by them they were then delivered to the new king, who had just granted them a most liberal and advantageous charter.\*

Nor was the share which Lübek took in the change of affairs in Denmark much less important. When Frederic of Holstein accepted the crown offered him by the aristocracy of that country, and repaired to Copenhagen, a Lübek army accompanied him by land and a Lübek fleet was ready to support him by sea.

Severin Norby, who still for a while kept Chris-

\* Regkmann lübliche Chronik; otherwise a mere repetition of Bonnus, has an article peculiarly confirming this statement.

tiern's flag afloat in the Baltic, at length succumbed mainly to the exertions of the navy of Lübek, which burnt his ships on the coast of Schonen.

From that time, Christiern incessantly menaced the country from which he had been driven, with an invasion. He formed an alliance with England; raised troops in Germany with the aid of his kinsmen and friends; sent ships to sea against the Hanseats from Zealand and Brabant; and, as he still had communication with the interior of the country, and an imperial party still existed in the towns, he was always feared. Lübek enjoyed the franchises it had obtained, without molestation, mainly because the two kings could not do without her assistance against their menacing foe.

Their alliance was drawn closer when Christiern, notwithstanding the protestant zeal he had formerly manifested, returned to catholicism; and now, supported by efficient aid from the emperor, seriously prepared to make an effort to recover his throne. It is, however, clear that there was not always the best understanding between the brothers-in-law. While Christiern was arming in Friesland, an imperial envoy endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between him, king Frederic of Denmark, and the Hanse Towns. King Frederic declared that he would submit to an arbitration if Christiern consented to do the same, and, above all, to suspend hostilities; a proposal which the envoy hastened to lay before Christiern in Friesland. That monarch, however, answered him with violent

complaints, that after being so long an exile from his country, he was not yet to be permitted to return to it, nor to be restored to his rightful throne.\* Instead of disbanding his troops, he marched without delay into Holland. That which he could not obtain by fair means, he extorted by force — ships and money. He knew that the court of Vienna approved of his undertaking (if not at the present moment, yet on the whole) and wished for the same results. The emperor had often enough declared that he regarded Christiern's cause as his own. Netherland merchants afforded the king voluntary assistance; the houses of Frei of Campen, Schultis of Enkhuysen, Bur of Amsterdam, and Rath of Alkmar, were mentioned as those to whom he was chiefly indebted for the funds necessary to his designs; and he, in return, granted them the most advantageous charters. On the 15th October, 1531, they set sail from Medenblik.

The Lübekers now addressed themselves to the Schmalkaldic league. They declared that nothing less was intended than the destruction of protestantism, and that there was an express understanding with all the bishops to that effect. King Frederic offered to join the Schmalkaldic league with his hereditary domains, if at least the most considerable members of it, Saxony, Hessen and Lüneburg, would conclude a similar treaty with him in respect of his elective kingdom.† For, he

\* *Literæ Banneri ad Cæsarem, de gestis apud Vandalicas civitates, s. a.* Brussels Archives.

† The acceptance generally given must be so modified.

said that, however strong his attachment to the evangelical cause, he would be prevented from expressing it by the power of his bishops, every one of whom had a great following of nobles.

Thus, as a counterpoise to the influence which catholicism had exercised on the one side, an attempt was made to implicate the scarcely formed anti-catholic league in these political affairs. But it did not succeed. Elector John would not hear of this twofold character of a member of the league; nor indeed was it necessary. No sooner had King Frederic given the Lübeckers sufficient security for the trade with Holland\*, than four Lübek men-of-war put to sea, before the Danes had made any preparations. Christiern had indeed landed in the mean time in Norway, and had, without difficulty, gained possession of the whole of that country,

“Your grace will be pleased to know,” says King Frederic in a letter to Landgrave Philip, dated St. John’s Day, 1531, “that we are earnestly well inclined to enter upon a union and alliance of our kingdom, and also our hereditary domains, concerning secular affairs, commerce and transactions, with you and our beloved uncle, the Elector of Saxony, together with the duke of Lüneburg.” If this alliance should be concluded, “we are consequently not disinclined, but, on the contrary, fully minded, then to contract a union, understanding and alliance, on behalf of our hereditary dominions alone, with all electors, princes, counts and estates attached to the evangelical party.” The landgrave hoped that Hamburg, Rostock, Wismar and Stade would also join.

\* Bonnus and Regkmann : — — — “with the assurance that they would again assist the city of Lübek against the Hollanders, and not allow them afterwards to sail through the Sound with so many ships.”



with the exception of a few fortified towns; but the Lübek cruisers burnt his ships on the coasts, provisioned Aggerhus, and formed a central point for the greater force which assembled in May, 1532; relieved Aggerhus, and compelled Christiern to negotiate, to capitulate, and finally to surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. As far as I have been able to discover, it was the delegate from Lübek who counselled the perpetual detention of Christiern.

As the Dutch were parties to this defeat, they instantly began to feel the consequences of it. In the summer of the year 1532, above four hundred merchant vessels were lying useless in the ports of Holland; there were ten thousand boatmen out of employment, and wheat rose to double its usual price.\* While Christiern was in Norway, king Frederic had allowed himself to be prevailed on to sign an ignominious treaty; but in virtue even of that he now claimed compensation, which he rated extremely high, and which the Netherlands refused to pay. The king dismissed the ambassadors of the stattholderess with an unfriendly message; upon which the Lübekers took the confiscated church treasures out of the sacristies, and fitted out a squadron with them, which, in the year 1533, lay in the Sound.

Upon this, the great towns of Holland fitted out a fleet to chastise that of Lübek — “the rebel and foe to his majesty.”

They insisted on the high dignity with which

\* Wagenaar, *Niederländische Geschichte*, ii. 423.

their sovereign was invested, as if that gave a greater colour of right to their proceedings.

It seemed as if matters must come to a decision by arms, now and for ever, between the two divisions of the ancient Hansa; especially since the democratic faction in Lübek, the rise of which during the religious troubles we have noticed, was now at the helm, and engaged in these affairs with the most ardent zeal.

In the early and primitive days of Lübek, when, as in Venice, a share in the administration of public affairs was regarded as a burden, a statute was framed, according to which a man who had sat two years in the council, was at liberty to quit on the third.\* People had, however, long been accustomed to regard this burden as an honour, and were jealous of sharing it with anybody. Nevertheless, the rising faction interpreted the statute to mean that no one should be allowed to sit more than two years in the council; consequently, that a third part of the college must be renewed every year. The most active supporter of this construction was George Wullenweber, one of the directors of the

\* "Des driden Jaers sol he frye sin des Rads, men he möghe id dann mit Bedde von eme hebben, dat he soeke den Rad." —"The third year he should be free from the council, unless he be requested to offer himself as a member again."—Becker ii. p. 54. I do not know on what grounds Barthold rests his interpretation of the statute, in his article on Wullenweber, in Raumer's Taschenbuch, for 1835, p. 37. It is as follows:—No man shall sit for more than two years in the council, unless the citizens propose an extension of the term, for some special reasons.

Hundred and Sixty-four; he probably thought it the best means of getting possession of the supreme power, with an appearance of legality; and it was entirely approved of by the excited citizens. In February, 1533, the council was renewed, and Wullenweber was one of the first elected to it; scarcely had he sat a fortnight, when (8th March) he was chosen *bürgermeister*. This completed the overthrow of the constitution of Lübek. Wullenweber now united the power of a popular leader with that of a lawful magistrate. He seemed determined immediately to prosecute the war with Holland with the utmost vigour; ordering even the great chandeliers of St. Mary's church to be taken down and cast into guns.

But before he proceeded further, changes took place which gave his activity a totally different direction.

It was natural that the northern governments, delivered from the enemy they had so long feared, should not cling so closely to the cities which had hitherto afforded them protection. They were now once more free to feel the oppression which these protectors exercised over them; — the obstruction which they offered to their own commercial activity. In the victory of Lübek over Holland, they could not possibly see any direct advantage to themselves; for there too a democratic faction, against which they had a natural antipathy, had gained the upper hand. Had they not reason to fear that it might excite similar agitations among their own subjects?

While things were in this state, King Frederic died at Gottorp, in April, 1533, and a number of pretenders to the Danish crown arose. Frederic's sons, of whom the one, Christian, was inclined to protestantism, the other, John, was trained in the catholic faith, had both numerous adherents; the latter, especially among the higher clergy. It is affirmed that a distant relation, Joachim of Brandenburg, also put in claims to the succession, and ventured to entertain hopes. Others thought of the elector of Saxony. The memory of Christiern was not yet wholly effaced, but the house of Austria hastened to set up a new pretender in his place; Count Palatine Frederic, to whom the emperor gave the daughter of Christiern in marriage.

In this general uncertainty, Lübek thought it might also have a voice, and that it perceived in what direction its interests lay. Wullenweber went to Copenhagen, and addressed himself first to the council of state on the subject of the Dutch war; but he found no encouragement. He then turned to the nearest protestant pretender, Duke Christian, and offered him his assistance to obtain the crown. Christian had, however, sufficient prudence and reserve to decline this. Wullenweber saw that he should gain nothing by a war with Holland, if, meantime, he lost Denmark. He conceived the idea of taking advantage of the confusion of the moment, and establishing in that country the dominion of his city (and consequently his own), on a firmer and more extensive basis than ever. He thought that he might reckon on the sympathy of

a party in the country, and at the same time on the support of one of the great powers of Europe.

A part of the Lübek fleet which had put to sea against the Dutch, had touched on the English coast, when its commander, Marcus Meier, had ventured to land without a passport, and had been arrested and lodged in the Tower of London. This happened just at the time in which Henry VIII. (as we shall have occasion to relate more at length) had entirely broken with the see of Rome, and had determined to emancipate his kingdom from the power of the pope; he was, therefore, looking round on every side for allies to assist him in his defence. We have a resolution of his privy-council, in pursuance of which an embassy was to be sent to the Hanse Towns (among other places), in order to form an alliance with them.\* Considering also the growing coolness with the emperor, it could not be a matter of indifference to the English whether the throne of Denmark was filled by a prince in the interest of the house of Burgundy, or in that of its opponents. It is, therefore, no wonder that the king, instead of punishing the commander of a fleet which had taken the sea against the Netherlanders, invited him to his presence, and negotiated with him. From the documents extant it appears that Marcus Meier promised, in the name of his party and his city, that no prince should mount the Danish throne whom Henry VIII. did

\* Propositions for the King's Council, in Strype's *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, i. 238. *State Papers*, i. 411.

not approve. Henry, on the other hand, showed himself ready to support Lübek in its undertaking, and hoped to gain over the king of France to the same cause.

Meier returned to Lübek, full of this most unexpected result of his expedition.

This man had formerly been a blacksmith at Hamburg, but had left his trade to enter the army. He served first in that body of adventurers which Christiern II. collected in Friesland, and conducted into Holland and then to Norway. Here he was taken prisoner, but he immediately seized the opportunity to take service with Lübek. This unquiet community was just the element for him; he attached himself to the rising chiefs of the popular party, and as early as the year 1532, the command of the troops destined for the Turkish war was entrusted to him, and he marched to the frontier and back again, through the whole German empire, at their head. He next, ready for either kind of warfare, went to sea; and he returned from England, decorated with a gold chain and the honour of knighthood. He now began to play a great part in Lübek, keeping a vast retinue of servants and horses, and going, after the somewhat barbaric fashion of that age, dressed with the utmost possible splendour\*; he was young, handsome, and brave; and, of course, found favour in the eyes of the principal citizens' wives. By a marriage, contracted shortly after his return, with the rich widow\* of the lately deceased bürgermeister

\* Sastrow, i. 115.

Lunte, he gained a footing among the patrician families; and, at his wedding, the captain of the city, surrounded by a mounted band, escorted him from the Holstein Gate.

Marcus Meier had, from the first, been on very intimate terms with Wullenweber; their intimacy now became closer than ever. At the sittings of the Hansa they appeared at the head of a numerous retinue, in glittering armour, and preceded by trumpets. The good fortune that had hitherto attended them, gave them confidence in the future.

Their first efforts were directed towards ruling in Lübek itself.

There were still in the council some of the former members, and these, as may be imagined, did not concur in all the propositions of the innovators. At Easter, 1534, they were turned out of office without ceremony, notwithstanding the utter repugnance of such a proceeding to the principles laid down by Luther. The superintendent, Bonnus, would no longer look on while the authorities were attacked, dismissed, and banished\*; he, therefore, sent in his resignation.

Their main object now was to have their hands free in politics and war; and they therefore determined, though after some hesitation, to conclude a truce with the Dutch for four years; even on the condition of granting the free passage through the Sound, demanded by Holland.

\* Letter of Hermannus Bonnus to the extraordinary Council, 4th May, 1534. Starke, Lübekische Kirchenhistorie, i., Beilage, nr. v.



They could now direct all their thoughts and plans towards the North, where things assumed the most favourable aspect for them.

In the Danish cities, nay, even in the capital of Sweden, as well as on the south of the Baltic, there were civic bodies impatient of the yoke of an oppressive aristocracy.

In Denmark the citizens had discovered, after the lapse of some time, that the expulsion of Christiern II. had been of no benefit to them. All the immunities from burdens which that king had granted them, had been gradually revoked. They were especially indignant that the nobility, not content with the enormous privileges it enjoyed, endeavoured to get the profits of commerce into its hands.\* The two bürgermeisters, Jorg Mynter of Malmöe, and Ambrosius Bogbinder of Copenhagen, both Germans, entirely shared Wullenweber's democratic sentiments. Protected by Frederic, Jorg

\* Address from the commons of Copenhagen to Queen Mary, May, 1535 (Brussels Arch.), specifies the reasons for their irritation, "Darum das dieses Richs Raidt und der Adel, über das sie unsern rechten König — entsetzt, bisher mit manigfaltiger unredlicher Beswerung nicht weniger uns denn alle andere Stette und gemeinen Mann im ganzen reich von unsern, christlichen Freiheiten und Gerechtigkeiten gezwungen, die Kaufmannschap hinweggenommen," &c.—"Because that the council of this kingdom, and the nobility, besides that they have deposed our rightful king, have hitherto with manifold, dishonest, and intolerable conspiracies, forcibly suppressed our christian liberties and rights, taken away our privileges as merchants," &c. The last complaint is also reported in the *Rerum Danicarum Chronologia*, in Ludewig Reliquae MSS. ii p. 70, auf. Nobilitatis osores gravissimi ob negotiationes quas exercebant ditiores.

Mynter had introduced the reformation into Malmöe, and would not allow it to be put down, as the national council seemed to intend. They promised the Lübekers that, as soon as their men-of-war should appear off the Danish coasts, they would abandon the council, and fight openly on their side. It appears as if it had been concerted that both cities should join the league of the Hansa; but on this point the authorities are not unanimous.

Very similar views were entertained by Andres Handson, master of the mint at Stockholm; with whom all the German citizens, and a part of the Swedish, seem to have been in an understanding. King Gustavus affirmed that their designs aimed directly at his life, and that powder was laid under his seat in the church, with the intention of blowing him up in the sight of the assembled congregation.

If we remember that, in all the Hanse Towns, nay, in all nether Germany, the popular inclinations had manifested themselves in a similar manner, and though repressed for the moment, were by no means entirely extinguished;—if we combine with this the popularity acquired in the West by anabaptism (which was only a religious cloak for the democratic principle), we shall perceive how mighty was the agitation which shook the North German world. It was a ferment like that preceding the revolt of the peasants, which had not then penetrated lower Germany, but had been arrested and quelled on its frontiers. Now, however, — after a lapse of ten years, — lower Germany was in a state of agitation not less violent. At the time of the

peasants' war, some few towns partook of it; now, they were its leaders and champions. Lübek, which Bonnus calls the capital of all the Saxon tongues, led the way. What was to be expected if bold demagogues were already masters there, and had at their disposal the means for the execution of their plans?

But the cities now, like the peasants before them, could not do without a commander of noble birth. They engaged the services of Christopher of Oldenburg, who, though a canon of Cologne cathedral, was a brave warrior and a zealous protestant. As a child, his mind had been richly stored with history; and, when at a riper age, he had repaired to the court of Philip of Hessen, it was thoroughly imbued with that mingled spirit of war and religion which then reigned there; he had afterwards assisted in putting down the peasants, and in delivering Vienna; he was not without elevation of mind, and had all the parts and qualities of a gallant soldier.

It was, however, impossible that a member of the house of Oldenburg should adopt the quarrels of a few *bürgermeisters* without solid grounds; or, at the least, without a plausible pretext.

The Lübekers determined to allege that they were about to liberate and reinstate on his throne the captive king Christiern, whom nobody had more bitterly hated, or more successfully sought to injure, than they. Yet there was a certain tincture of truth in this. The object they had immediately in view, was not their mercantile interests (which

Christiern had thwarted); but the democratic, or rather anti-aristocratic, which he had always espoused.\* But they took ample precautions as to the former. Count Christopher promised that, if he conquered, he would cede Gothland, Helsingborg, and Helsingör to the Lübekers, whose ascendancy in the Baltic would thus have been secured for ever. Nay, he gave them the assurance that he would deliver King Christiern into their hands, as soon as he had rescued him from prison.† What a power over the three Scandanavian kingdoms would they have acquired by the possession of the person of their legitimate monarch!

For they were resolved not to suffer Gustavus Vasa to remain in Sweden; they had even thought of setting up the young Svante Sture as a temporary rival and competitor.

In May, 1534, Count Christopher entered Lübek. The present intention of the inhabitants was to seize upon the property of the cathedral, which they meant to confiscate at the death of the bishop. Christopher took Eutin without difficulty. His attack on some castles in Holstein, such as Trittow, which he conquered, and Segeberg, was merely in order to give occupation to Duke Christian, and in the mean time, undisturbed by him, to attain his ends in Denmark.‡

\* See Hvitfield, G. ii. Pontanus ap. Westphalen, 1144.

† Declarations of Wullenweber in his *Interrogatorium*; authenticated by Gebhardi, ii. 135.

‡ Wullenweber declared that these schemes related only to Denmark.

Disregarding the means of defence which Duke Christian instantly raised, and the advantages which he obtained, Count Christopher, eager to complete the great work, put to sea at Travemünde, on the 19th June, 1534, with twenty-one ships of war.

Never did an invading army find a country better disposed for its reception. The bürgermeister Mynter put out to meet the fleet, with the news that he had raised a revolt in Malmöe, and had got possession of the citadel, which he had destroyed. Hereupon Christopher cast anchor some miles in front of Copenhagen. As soon as he showed himself, the insurrection, for which every thing was ready, and which, like those in Germany, was directed against the nobles and the clergy, broke out in Seeland. In Roschild the multitude plundered the bishop's palace and delivered up the city. They fell upon the castles of the nobles and rased them to the ground. The majority of the nobles, solely to save their lives, consented to renew their former oath to Christiern II., and in an unusual form. On the 15th of July, Copenhagen went over; Laaland, Langeland, and Falster followed the example of Seeland without delay. Nothing was wanting but the arrival of the count in Malmöe, to carry all Schonen with him. In Fünen it seemed for a moment as if the revolt of the peasants, which had just arisen, would be put down by the council of state and the nobility; but some small succours from the count sufficed to insure victory to the peasants, and recognition to the

exiled king. There remained only Jutland. A pirate, named Clemint, who had joined Count Christopher in Malmöe, fell upon Aalborg; and collecting the Jütish peasants around him, soon drove the nobles and their heavy cavalry out of the field.

While these tidings were coming in, the syndic of Lübek, Doctor Oldendorp, one of the most active members of the reforming party—a man “of unquiet spirit,” to use the words of old Kantzow—travelled through the Swedish cities, to invite their participation in this undertaking. He was personally a representative of the democratic interests, and he now unfolded the most flattering prospects that it was possible to conceive; it may easily be imagined how he was received by the people. A few of the old councillors opposed him, but in vain. The Stralsunders threw their bürgermeister, Claus Smiterlow, into prison, carried the cannon on board the ships of war, and elected a new council. The expenses of the war were to be paid by forced contributions from the richer sort, without any assistance from the people. The old bürgermeisters of Rostock were compelled by force to give their assent to the preparations for war. All the towns of the surrounding countries were roused to attempt great things. Reval and Riga sent contributions. Nothing was heard of but Lübek. “Had the cities succeeded as they hoped,” says Kantzow, “not a prince or a nobleman would have been, left.” \*

\* Kantzows Chronik von Pommern, in the accurate edition of Böhmer, p. 211.

Meanwhile the people of Lübek did not neglect to cultivate their friendship with England. On the 30th May, they sent three councillors to that country, to express to the king their sentiments as to his quarrel with the pope, to offer him their alliance against the see of Rome, and at the same time to request his support and assistance in their own affairs.\*

We have before us the copy of a treaty of the 2nd August, 1534, according to which they also left the king the free disposal of the crown of Denmark, in case he desired either to take possession of it himself, or to recommend another candidate†; while he, on his side, confirmed all their ancient privi-

\* *Oratores missi de villa de Lubicke*, in Rhymer's *Fœdera* vi. ii. 214. Further information on these affairs may be expected from the continuation of the State Papers. It is remarkable that the king wished also to form an alliance with the Hamburgers, "for the redressing and amending of the injuries doon to his majestie by the bishop of Rome." Articles were to be laid before them for their acceptance, *e.g.*, "Against Goddes prohibitions the dispensation of the bishop of Rome or of an other man is uterlie nought and of no value;" the same which were after laid before the Lübekers, and also some others specially relating to the bishop's government: they were to send twelve ships to the king's assistance, and raise 10,000 men at his cost—3000 horse and 7000 foot. Printed in the Report of the Rec. Commission, App. C.

† If he would do neither, for he was as yet undecided, they engaged to repay his loan. "Alle und itlik Geld, so S. K. M. der Stadt thom besten vorstrecket."—"All and every money which H. R. M. had advanced for the benefit of the city." Words of the treaty, which Dr. Schmidt had the kindness to procure me from the Bremen Archives.



leges, gave them a sum of money, and promised them further support.

One symptom of the impression which these events made in Europe may be found in a letter of the archbishop of Lund, in which he begs the emperor to reflect on the consequences of an alliance between the Hanse Towns and England; how easily Holland might then be invaded, and an insurrection raised there; and conjures him to take some means to prevent it. He added, that if the emperor thought himself bound by his treaties with the house of Oldenburg, he might declare war in the name of Frederic of the Palatinate and the youthful Dorothea. There was living in Lübek one Hopfensteiner, formerly in the service of the archbishop of Bremen, who incessantly entertained the imperial ministers with reports of the great regard still paid to the emperor's interests in the Hanse Towns, and represented an enterprise of this kind as very easy. The archbishop of Lund offered, in case of need, to carry on the war in his own name.\*

But before the imperial court, or the government of the Netherlands, could resolve on a measure of so decisive a kind, the Lübekers had met with a resistance in the North, which daily assumed a more formidable character.

Duke Christian of Holstein was a man of tran-

\* *Literæ Archiepiscopi ad Cæsarem et D<sup>m</sup>. de Granvella*, in the third volume of the Imperial Documents at Brussels. The letter of the 1st of August, 1534, which I intend to give in the Appendix, is particularly worthy of note.

quail, North-German temper: a nature not lightly moved, but when once urged by necessity, capable of acting with admirable perseverance and discretion. He had already shown of what he was capable, by the manner in which he had introduced the reformation into the duchies. His mind and character were profoundly penetrated with the religious and moral spirit of the German reformation. He sang the lutheran hymns with as much fervour as any worthy artisan of an imperial city. Perjury he visited with new and increased penalties. To read the Bible, to listen to passages from history, to converse at table with some learned divine or wise statesman, to follow the discoveries in astronomy — such were his pleasures. His political and military acts were, as we see, based on deep and solid grounds, and prompted by elevated motives and tendencies.\*

To this prince the leaders of the popular party in Lübek had, as we have stated, offered the crown of Denmark; he had declined it, because he would not owe it to force, and they had, in consequence, directed their first hostilities against him; being at length irritated, and earnestly supported both by his subjects and his neighbours (and among them the landgrave of Hessen), he at length took the field with a considerable force, in the intention of chastising the Lübekers for their attacks.† In September, 1534, he appeared before the city, and, in

\* Eragius, *Historia Christiani*, iii. p. 395. Hemming, *Ora-  
tio funebris ad calcem historiæ Craginæ*.

† Chytræus, *Hist. Sax.* p. 408.

order to cut off the communication with the sea, proceeded without delay to block up the Trave. Marcus Meier protested that he should not succeed in this. But Meier's arrangements only proved his complete unfitness for serious warfare. The Holsteiners first took possession of the bank of the Trave as far as Tremsmühle; they then took up a strong position on the opposite bank, on the Burgfeld, and connected their posts by a bridge which effectually closed the river. All attempts of the Lübekers both by land and water to get possession of this bridge were fruitless; they were repeatedly beaten before the eyes of their wives and children, and were forced to yield other important points. The city which was laying plans to get the whole North under its influence, saw itself cut off from all communication with the sea at its very gates.

The first and most urgent of all necessities for Lübek was, to rid itself of so imminent a foe. Already misunderstandings broke out in the city; the citizens were discontented, the Hundred and Sixty-four resigned, and even in the council the men in power encountered resistance. They were compelled to enter upon negotiations with Holstein, which they were no longer in a condition to conduct according to their wishes. We have no accurate information either concerning the preceding movements in the town, or these negotiations; but it is evident that the latter embraced the affairs of Denmark as well as those of Holstein, and that a considerable approximation was made between the parties. Christian seemed inclined to make

some concessions, and Wullenweber declared that he would have consented to the terms of peace, had not Dr. Oldendorp prevented him. Thus it happened that they agreed on nothing but the affairs of Holstein; Lübek ceded all that she had taken from Holstein. But a stranger peace was never concluded. Whilst the contracting parties agreed about Holstein, each reserved to itself the right to continue the war with all its might concerning the affairs of Denmark.\*

But these also were decided by the personal qualities of Duke Christian.

Such were the straits in which the states of Denmark found themselves, in consequence of attacks from without and revolt within, that they had at length, although not without strenuous resistance on the part of the clergy, determined to elect the duke to the throne.

By this measure all the fears of the protestants of that kingdom, which had been very lively, were dissipated. In their manifesto, the Lübekers had spoken of the introduction of pure religion as the chief object of their undertaking. This was now of course without a meaning, and all the sympathy that they could look for on this score, had vanished.

Now, moreover, the interests of Denmark were defended by an able and courageous champion.

\* Regkmann's Chronicle (p. 176) agrees with the Interrogatorium of Wullenweber, if accurately compared. Only Regkmann gives some conjectures, *e. g.* that Wullenweber's enemies would not permit that Lübek should be aggrandized by him.

As he would perhaps have yielded too much in the camp before Lübek, so he would afterwards perhaps have consented to extend anew the privileges of the Lübekers\*; but they would be contented with nothing less than the disposal of the kingdom and the crown. There was now no other resource therefore than the sword. Without loss of time, Christian turned with his victorious troops from Lübek to Jütland. Even in December, 1534, he succeeded in retaking Aalborg and pacifying the whole province. His two brothers-in-law, the king of Sweden and the duke of Prussia, took up arms for him; the former by sea and land, and the latter by sea only. His other brother-in-law, the duke of Pomerania, sent him subsidies which arrived just at the critical moment. Two or three Hessian companies, which he had had with him at Lübek, marched with him to the North. Throughout a great part of Norway he was already acknowledged king.

On the other side, the Lübekers once more collected all their forces.

They succeeded in gaining over to their cause a neighbouring prince, Duke Albert of Mecklenburg.

Duke Albert, who had adhered with great fide-

\* According to a letter of Hopfensteiner, 20th of January, 1535, the king promised, first, that the captive king Christiern should be well taken care of; secondly, satisfaction given to Count Christopher; thirdly, restitution of what Lübek had expended on the kingdom of Denmark, "in his father's time;" fourthly, much more liberty and justice than they have hitherto had, and also certain towns as pledges:—"but they would not consent."

lity to the party of the deposed and imprisoned Christiern, subsequently declared that he had received no pay from Lübek; his only motive was, "that it seemed to him good and praiseworthy to set free an anointed king, who, contrary to bond and seal, had been thrown into prison."\* It was said that the crown of Denmark, or even that of Sweden, had been promised to him as a recompense for his services. It does not appear that any such direct and positive engagement was entered into; according to Wullenweber's declaration, the promise made to him was, that Lübek would protect him in the possession of whatever he might obtain from King Christiern.† It is possible, however, that more distinct views were held out to him; according to Hopfensteiner‡, the plan of the Lübekers was, that, if King Christiern was liberated, Duke Albert should continue to govern Denmark as regent, while the king should be maintained suitably to his rank in Lübek; they enjoying all the advantages they had ever claimed, — Helsingör and Helsingborg, with the tolls, Gothland, and perhaps even Calmar and the Swedish mines. On the 9th April, Duke Albert embarked at Warnemünde.

\* Albert's Declaration, Monday after Reminiscere, 1537. (Brussels Archives.)

† Interrogatorium.

‡ Hopfensteiner, 26th November, 1534, at which time the negotiation was already begun. The prospect of gaining Meklenburg contributed the most to bring about the rejection of Christian's proposals. Wullenweber declares that he neither prevented the peace, nor engaged duke Albert on his side; but that this was done by others: this account is perfectly consistent.



He seemed to have made preparations for a permanent residence in Denmark; taking with him his wife, who was with child, his court, and even his huntsmen and hounds, in order that he might enjoy the pleasures of the chase, after the German fashion, in the thick forests of Denmark. It was of great advantage to the Lübekers that a distinguished prince of the empire, sovereign of no inconsiderable territory, had espoused their cause. It inspired the Danish towns likewise with courage and confidence. Hitherto they had borne the whole weight of the contest alone; but Albert brought some independent power to their aid, and was rather to be regarded as an auxiliary than a salaried commander. Wullenweber, who accompanied the duke, at length succeeded in bringing about an understanding between him and Count Christopher, who had, at first, shown considerable dissatisfaction. Shortly after, a Lübek squadron brought further reinforcements, under the counts of Hoya and Tecklenburg.

Meanwhile Marcus Meier, who had been sent to Schonen, had bestirred himself there with great success. He executed one of his usual daring and dexterous manœuvres. Being taken prisoner, he turned his ill luck to such good account, that he got possession of the very castle in which he was imprisoned — Warburg, in Holland.

The two parties were, as we perceive, very equally matched; perhaps that of Lübek and the cities was somewhat superior in numbers.

The question was no longer, as perhaps at an



earlier period, whether the ecclesiastical reform would extend to Denmark; its destiny was completely secured by the accession of a protestant king. The question rather was, whether the ecclesiastical reform would combine with a political revolution; whether the democratical principle which, emanating from Lübek, had spread itself over the whole North, would be triumphant there, or not;—the same question which, from the moment of its first agitation at Wittenberg, in Carlstadt's time, had kept Upper (and more recently Lower) Germany in that state of ferment which had just been so terribly quelled in Münster.

The whole force of the democratic principle was now united at this remote point of the North. Had it conquered, it would have caused a fresh and mighty reaction in Germany.

On the 11th June, 1535, on the spot where of yore Odin was worshipped with sanguinary rites—where legends of the greatness of the house of Oldenburg, mutilated by its own divisions, have their seat—on the island of Fünen, not far from Assens, near the Oxnebirg, this awful question was decided. On both sides were Germans and Danes. The royal party were led by Hans Rantzau, who had won his knighthood at Jerusalem, and had traversed the whole of Europe; and who combined, in a still higher degree than his master, zeal for protestantism, and love of arts and science\*, with

\* Chytræus: oculus nobilitatis eruditæ in his terris fulgentissimus. See Christiani, N. Gesch. von Schleswig und Holstein, i. 479, ii. 54.

address in the council and valour in the field; the troops of the cities were commanded by the count of Hoya. Rantzau conquered,—like Landgrave Philip at Laufen—like the princes in the peasants' war—by the superiority of his cavalry and artillery. It was in his favour that the enemy did not wait for him, but made the first onset and fell into disorder. The best men of the cities' army fell, and it sustained a total defeat.\*

At the same time the fleets met at Bornholm. The king's fleet included Swedish and Prussian, that of Lübek, Rostock, and Stralsund ships. It was now to be decided whether the princes or the cities were henceforth to be masters of the seas. The battle had already begun, when they were parted by a storm; but the royal fleet was evidently superior; the Danish admiral Skram, who commanded it, captured a great number of Lübek trading vessels on the coasts.

Christian III. was thus victorious by land and by sea. Fünen had been forced immediately to submit, and did homage to him at Odensee. With the help of the fleet, which arrived at that moment, he crossed over to Seeland, where he was received with great joy by the nobles. The inhabitants of Schoningen did him homage as soon as he appeared. Warburg was soon retaken, and used as a pledge between Denmark and Sweden. In the beginning of August, 1535, the conquests made by the cities were once more reduced to Malmöe and Copenhagen.

\* Cragius, *Historia Christiani III.* p. 95.

Notwithstanding this, the possession of these two points would still have rendered a resumption of their former plans possible, had not the discontents which had arisen at the first reverses, ripened meanwhile into a complete revolution.

And lastly, that interposition on the part of the authorities of the empire in the internal affairs of Lübek, which the imperial envoys had two years before demanded, was now energetically put in practice. The city was admonished by a mandate of the Imperial Chamber to reinstate the expelled *bürgermeister*s and all the members of the town-council. In itself this mandate would have had little effect; but it expressed a demand which was now imperiously heard in almost all the other cities of Lower Germany, and was, therefore, supported by public opinion. Above all, the Lübekers felt that they were beaten; their world-embracing plans had encountered an invincible, nay, a triumphant resistance; the energy of the democratic spirit was broken by their failure.

On the 15th August, 1535, the council convoked the commons, and laid before them the mandate of the Imperial Chamber. The moment in which Wullenweber was on a journey of business in Meklenburg was not taken without design. The commons first convinced themselves that the mandate contained nothing about the re-establishment of the ancient ecclesiastical forms; and, being satisfied on that point, declared themselves ready to obey it, and to put a stop to all innovations in temporal things. At the next sitting of the council, George

von Hövelen, who had been made bürgermeister against his will, rose up and took his old place among the councillors. The councillors appointed by the commons perceived that, under these circumstances, they could not maintain their posts, and quitting their chairs, they resigned their dignity. We may imagine the astonishment of Wullenweber when he returned and found so complete a change effected in his absence. He had long ceased to possess the popularity which had raised him to power, and no effort to regain it had been of any avail. He, too, was compelled to resign. Recalled by his fellow-citizens, escorted into the town by a hundred and fifty old friends, and the ambassadors from Cologne and Bremen, — for the Hansa happened to be sitting, — Nicholas Brömse re-entered Lübek.\* A recess was drawn up, in virtue of which the evangelical doctrines were retained; while, on the other hand, the council was reinstated in its former rights. The lutheran principle, which demanded only a reconstitution of spiritual things, and allowed the temporal, wherever it was possible, to subsist, was here, too, triumphant.

It was obviously no longer to be expected that the Danish war could be carried on with vigour. Gert Korbmacher, the miner, who joined another expedition to the Sound, expresses his disgust at the little earnestness that was shown in it.

The war however went on, though feebly enough,

\* Becker, Geschichte von Lübek, aus Reimar Kock und Lambert von Dalen, ii. 91—95.

and sometimes new and extensive plans were connected with it.

From the trial of Wullenweber, it appears indisputable that he had intended to resume his schemes and enterprizes. There were at that time a few bands of landsknechts, under the command of a colonel named Uebelacker, recruited in the name of the count of Oldenburg in the Hadeln country. Wullenweber set out to join them. On his trial he declared, that his intention was to lead these troops across the Elbe at Boitzenburg and before the walls of Lübek, without delay; his partisans would have opened the Mohlenthor to him, he would have overthrown the council, and have established a completely democratical government, together with anabaptism. But even in his examination, these plans appear in the light of half-matured projects; and before his death Wullenweber utterly denied them \*, and especially retracted all personal accusations of participation which had been extorted from him. It is difficult to reject a confession, the most material points of which were made without the fearful agency of the rack; but it is utterly impossible to ground any belief on a declaration which the accused retracted at the moment of his death. The existence of these plans, therefore, must for ever remain problematical. If they ever existed, they could have had no other

\* In Article 31, he says, "They have never entirely concluded the affair of the anabaptists; but one thing brought on another."

result than that which we have already witnessed. Wullenweber fell—as he had been forewarned—into the hands of his bitterest enemy, the archbishop of Bremen, who, as in his quality of spiritual lord he could not stain his hands with blood, gave him up to his brother, Duke Henry of Brunswick. Here he was subjected to the examination above mentioned \*, accused by both Denmark and Lübek, and because he would not deny all that he was accused of, condemned to die according to the old forms of the German law. The justice of the land pronounced that “he might not have done unpunished, that which he had done.” He was beheaded and then quartered.

Wullenweber is a perfect representative of the rash and perverse spirit which was rife, during that period, among the inhabitants of the German cities. He had begun, like so many demagogues in other towns; the talent of leading a mobile population at his pleasure, and the natural

\* In Regkmann's Chronicle there is a report of his last accusation and execution, with some of his letters written from his prison. Strangely enough, the defence has thus been published without the accusation. This, which is contained in the trial, I intend to print in the Appendix. The trial, which I found in the Weimar Archives among the Wolfenbüttel papers, has been of great use and value to me. Wullenweber confessed but few of the charges, and those the most doubtful ones, under the torture. On the other hand, there is much of another kind without any immediate relation to the criminal accusation, and rather of an historical nature, which is occasionally strikingly confirmed by passages of the Chroniclers not generally considered authentic, or by forgotten documents. Of course I have admitted nothing that Wullenweber denied again before his death.



force of the political and religious interests, elevated him to a station whence he could dare to intrude self-supported among the great powers of the world. He knew no moderation; failures did not teach him caution; he evoked once more the ancient spirit of the Hansa, prevailed on German princes to engage in his wars, and contracted alliances with foreign potentates. Motives of all sorts, —democratic, religious, mercantile and political— were confusedly blended in his mind; he entertained the project of making the reformed Lübek the centre and head of the democracy of the North, and himself the director of this newly organized world. But he thus deserted the sphere of the ideas which had given force and success to the German reformation; the powers which he attacked were, at length, too strong for him; the reverses which democracy suffered on every hand reacted on his native city: the ground was thus cut from under his feet, and he fell into the hands of his enemies. Having failed to conquer the North, the only alternative that remained to him was to die on the scaffold.

It is altogether a remarkable generation which we here find engaged in conflict. Bold demagogues who have raised themselves to power, and stubborn patricians who never for an instant give up their cause; princes and lords who make war for war's sake; and others who steadily contemplate an object which they pursue with persevering resolution: all robust, violent, aspiring natures; all connecting some public interest with their own pri-



vate advantage. Among them, and second to none in capacity, the aged king, to whom the greater part of all that was contended for, legally belonged; whose name sometimes resounded in the fight as a war cry, but who expiated the sins of his youth by an endless captivity. Victory declared herself on the side of the strongest. She could neither be won by those who had not yet thoroughly secured their own cause, nor by those who had adopted projects to which they were in fact strangers. Victory remained with the duke, raised to the royal throne, who fought with ardour and energy for himself, and who was connected with the existing and the past by his policy, and with the progressive and the future, by his religion. All the intrigues of foreign potentates were abortive. In the year 1536, Christian III. (we shall see hereafter under what combinations) took possession of his capital, and remained master of the field.

Independent, however, of all personal considerations, it may be affirmed that the enterprise of Lübek was no longer compatible with the spirit and circumstances of the times. Those great communities which, in the middle ages, pervaded and bound together all states, and the organisation of which is one of the most striking peculiarities of that period of history, were now on the eve of complete decomposition. In presence of an all-embracing sacerdotal order, and of an equestrian order which bound the whole nobility of the West in a sort of corporation or guild, civic bodies might also aspire to extend their commercial monopoly

over kingdoms far and near. But with their cotemporary institutions they too were doomed to fall. The principle which pervades modern history tends to the mutual independence of the several peoples and kingdoms, on every political ground. That Lübek should emancipate herself from the hierarchy, yet think to maintain a commercial supremacy (and not by the natural superiority of industry, capital, or skill, but by the force of compulsory treaties and edicts), involved an historical contradiction.

But it must not be supposed that the influence of Germany over the North was thus destroyed. On the contrary, it was now established on a more liberal, but a firmer basis than ever. It was no longer the influence of force, but of intelligence, Who does not know what efforts were made in earlier ages to carry Christianity into the North from Germany? yet an accurate investigation will convince us that England was far more instrumental to its conversion. That alliance of a specially religious nature which Anscharius and his successors failed to bring about between Germany and the Northern kingdoms, was now effected, though in another manner, by the reformation. The destruction of the influence of Lübek did not prejudice protestantism; scarcely had Christian III. taken Copenhagen, when he proceeded to introduce its doctrine and rites as they prevailed in Germany, under the direction of the same Wittenberg theologian, who had reformed so many parts of lower Germany—Doctor Bugenhagen. This system of faith struck root there, with the same rapidity and depth with which it had

established itself in Germany, and formed the basis of the intimate union of the whole moral life of the North with that of Germany. From that time, the same current of thought, the same development of ideas, has distinguished the German and the Scandinavian portions of the great Teutonic family. In the North, too, the church severed herself from the restless domain of politics; her whole activity was confined to the intellectual regions.

We have observed the same result in all the events of the latter years of our history.

Zwingli, who contemplated not only a purification of faith and doctrine, but a radical change in the Swiss confederation, and especially the progress of democratic ideas, had fallen; his political projects had failed; in the last days—perhaps the last moments—of his life, he could seek consolation only in the prospects of the church. The anabaptist movement, which aimed at so complete a change of all the conditions of society, was suppressed, and, in Germany, annihilated. Even the general agitation of the middle classes of the trading cities, which had been connected with the schemes of Lübek, proved fruitless, and necessarily subsided. It seemed as if the religious principle which had arisen in its own peculiar strength, could endure no such intimate connexion with politics.

The chief anxiety of the reformers was, to protect their faith from all interpretations which could lead its followers into these devious and dangerous paths.

To this anxiety may be attributed the introduc-

tion of symbolical books among the protestants. In order to secure themselves from the propagation of anabaptist opinions, the Wittenberg teachers once more solemnly adopted the resolutions of the early assemblies of their church, in which the doctrines of the Trinity, and the two natures in Christ, were originally established; as had already been expressed in the Confession of Augsburg. They held it necessary to render conformity to these doctrines indispensable both to theological advancement in the universities, and to appointments in the church.\*

Not that they meant by any means to hold up their Confession as an eternal and immutable rule or norm of faith. In the negotiations carried on with England in the year 1535, the case was expressly pronounced possible, that some things in the Apology and Confession might, on further examination of God's word, be found susceptible of correction and improvement.† Nor, keeping in view

\* Statuta collegii facultatis theologicæ in Försteman, *Liber Decanorum*, p. 152. Volumus puram evangelii doctrinam, consentaneam confessioni quam Augustæ — exhibuimus, — pie proponi; — severissime etiam prohibemus spargi hæreses damnatas in synodis Nicæna, Constantinopolitana, Ephesina et Chalcedonensi, nam harum synodorum decretis de explicatione doctrinæ, de Deo Patre, Filio, et spiritu Sancto, et de duabus naturis in Christo nato ex virgine Maria assentimur, eaque judicamus in scriptis apostolicis certo tradita esse.

† *Petitio illustrissimorum principum data lagatis sermæ regię dignitatis*, 25th December, 1535. The king was to promise to conform to the Confession and Apology: nisi forte quædam — ex verbo Dei merito corrigenda aut mutanda videbuntur.

the relations with Switzerland, can it be denied that the doctrine itself was in a state of living progress and construction. The connexion formed by Saxony with the Oberländer, which, spite of a great approximation, did not amount to a complete adhesion on the part of the latter, involved an influence of their dogmatic views on those of Saxony; we shall shortly see how earnest were the efforts made to bring about a complete amalgamation.

The example of Saxony was soon followed by the cities of lower Germany. In April, 1535, the preachers of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübek, Rostock, Stralsund and Lüneburg entered into a convention, in which they determined, that, in future, no one should be permitted to preach who did not solemnly subscribe to the sound doctrines contained in the Confession and Apology. This appeared to them the only means of keeping down anabaptists and other heretics, who would otherwise throw every thing in church and state into confusion.\*

And, we may ask, was not this in conformity with the principle in which the whole protestant movement had originated?

The intention of its authors was not to prescribe new laws to the world; they had no desire to shake the foundations of political and social life, as ac-

\* Bericht von etlicher grossen Gemeinen Prediger Unterredung. Report of the conference between certain great preachers. In Schröder's Evangelischem Meklenburg, i. 301. "qui velut obliti humani nominis omnia sursum ac deorsum miscent tam id republica quam in causa christianæ religionis — — ne dissimulatione malum irrepat atque magistratus auctoritas labefactetur."

tually constituted ; their only object was, to emancipate themselves from a hierarchy which, exclusive and worldly as it had become, still laid claim to absolute and divine authority.

In this undertaking vast progress had now been made ; but it was far from being thoroughly accomplished. Mighty powers, constrained by their nature and interests to resist all attempts at separation, were still arrayed against it. We shall still have to tell of the stern conflicts and the various fortunes of this high intellectual warfare.

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
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